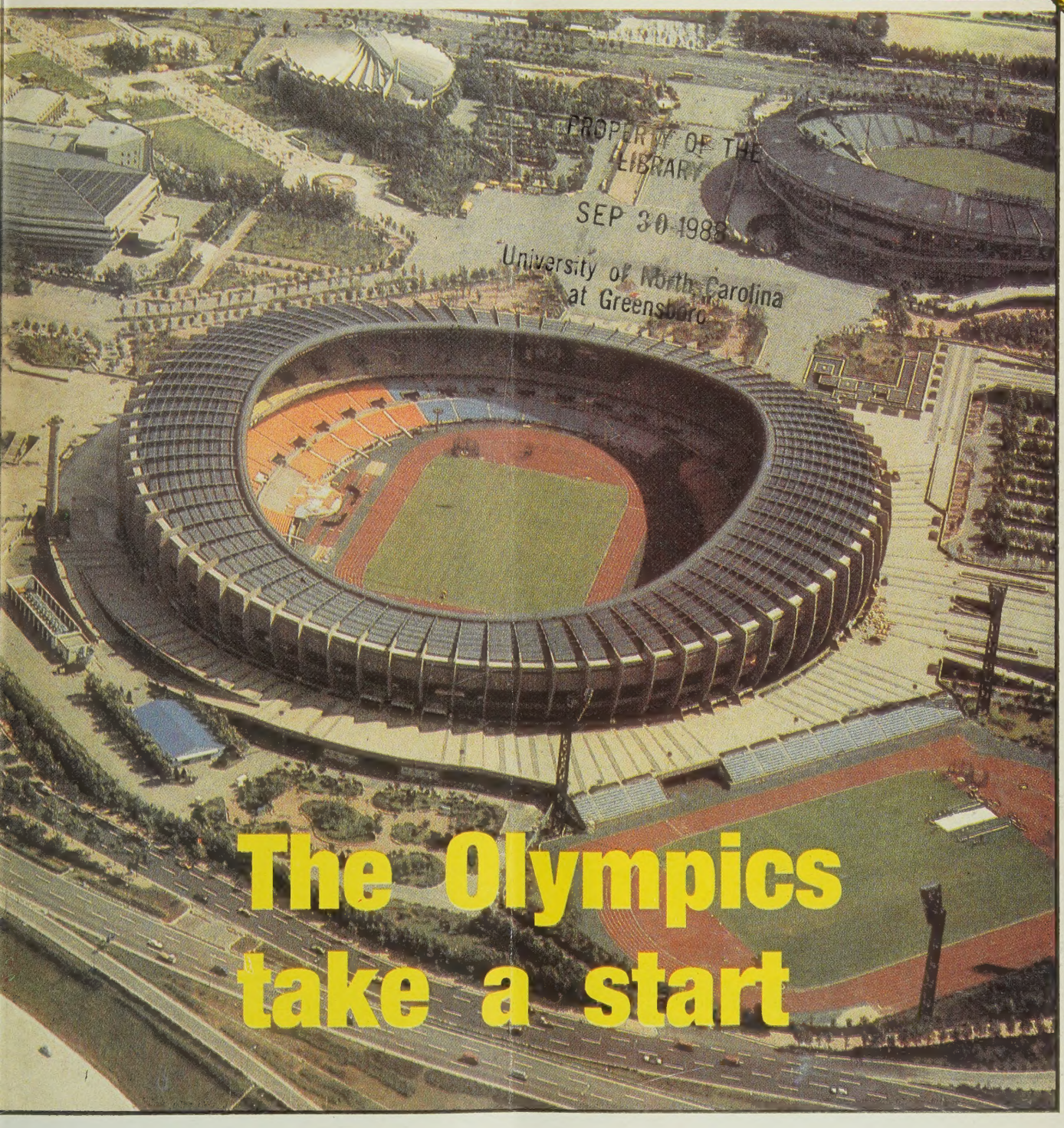
88
EPTEMBER 1988

A SOVIET WEEKLY
F WORLD AFFAIRS

NEW TIMES

U.S.S.R.-P.R.C.: consultations continue



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Moscow — February 9-16

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Moscow — Aprill 11-18

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Erevan — May 24-31

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2nd "Equipment, Instruments and Tools for the Metal-working Industry"
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3rd "Refrigeration Equipment"
Minsk — June 28-July 5

"Instruments and Equipment for Glass Research" at the 15th International Glass Congress
Leningrad — July 1-8

2nd "Civil Engineering"
Moscow — July 4-11

3rd "Vegetables, Fruits and Berries Processing, Packaging, Transportation and Storage Machines and Equipment"
Kishinev — July 19-26

4th "Municipal and Public Service Equipment"
Moscow — August 9-16

2nd "Crystallographic Equipment" at the 12th European Conference on Crystallography
Moscow — August 22-25

2nd "Ophthalmological Equipment and Instruments"
Kiev — September 6-13

4th "Machines, Equipment and Instruments for the Timber, Pulp-and-Paper and Woodworking Industry"
Moscow — September 13-22

"Diagnostic Equipment and Medicines for Diabetes Analysis and Treatment"
Tbilisi — September 20-27

4th "Animal-Breeding and Fodder Production Mechanization Equipment"
Alma Ata — September 27-October 5

2nd "Juices and Soft Drinks Production"
Frunze — October 4-11

5th "Electronics Manufacturing and Control Equipment"
Moscow — October 18-25

"Black, Green and Instant Tea Production Equipment"
Tbilisi — October 18-25

3rd "Water Handling and Land Reclamation Facilities"
Moscow — October 19-26

3rd "Automation Means of Production Processes"
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NEW TIMES

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In Burma the struggle continues unabated to democratize political life. The masses are demonstrating in Rangoon and other cities, despite the fact that the transition to a milti-party system, for which the opposition has been pressing, would now appear to have been sanctioned by the BSPP which continues to hold power and by emergency sessions of Parliament. (See page 8.)

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CONTENTS:

2
Glasnost

4
Highlight of the week

5
Non-aligned movement
Alexei Bukalov
SAILING ON...

7
Quotations

8
Burma
Alexei Romanov
STORM IN THE STREETS

11
U.S.S.R. – Austria
Vitaly Chernyavsky
RESPECT AND UNDERSTAND ONE ANOTHER

13
Panama
Mikhail Baklanov
TWO POLES

15
Exclusive for New Times
Björn Engholm
STATESMANSHIP: AN ART OR A TRADE?

17
Sweden
Alexander Polyukhov
WHEN THE ODDS WERE NOT CLEAR

19
Indonesia
Alexei Yuriev
THE ARMY AND LIBERALIZATION

21
The Pugwash movement
Andrei Sakharov
FIFTY PER CENT IS MORE THAN JUST HALF

23
Space
Boris Konovalov
CONTINGENCY SITUATION

24
The nationalities question
Alexander Guber
Nagorny Karabakh: THE BURDEN OF PROBLEMS – REAL AND IMAGINARY

27
Observer's view
Ekaterina Kozhukhova
BRAINWORK AND BUREAUCRACY

28
Reflections
Vladimir Dudintsev
THE LINE OF BEAUTY

30
Junior world
Simon Soloveichik
THE ART OF WASTE

31
Youth
Ventsel Raichev
IS IT EASY TO HELP THE YOUNG?

32
Observer's view
Albert Pin
PYONGYANG'S ARGUMENTS

33
China
Evgeny Bazhanov
PERESTROIKA CHINESE STYLE

36
Cuba
Vitaly Sobolev
DON'T SPILL THE SYRUP!

38
Ecology
Askold Silin
GUARDIANS OF MANKIND

40
Olympics
Vitaly Ignatenko
MONGCHON DREAM AND REALITY

44
Profile sketches

46
Towering personalities
Andrei Zolotov
OFFERING A HAND TO FAILING SPIRITS

48
Music
Erkin Tuzmukhamedov
TALLINN'S SONG FIELD HOSTS A ROCK FESTIVAL

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OPINIONS

Takeshi Araki,
Mayor of Hiroshima City, Japan

■ Recently Hiroshima marked the 43rd anniversary of the atomic bombing of the city. That blazing holocaust remains burned into our memories. "No more Hiroshimas!" This is the anguished cry of all people subjected to the horrible nulear threat. It has today spread worldwide, and public opinion around the globe is pressing to transform international politics from conflict to dialogue, from distrust to friendship.

The recent signing of the INF treaty between the U.S. and the Soviet Union gives hope for a future dominated not by the threat of annihilation but by the promise of survival. Af far as I remember, it is a first worthwhile step towards complete and universal nuclear disarmament. Yet, the numbers of weapons involved are small, and we must not forget the fact that not only land masses but also the seas and even space are all arenas for modern nuclear strategy.

It was in this context that the third special session of the U.N. General Assembly devoted to disarmament was held. It was also a subject of discussion with vice-presidents of the World Conference of Mayors for Peace through inter-city solidarity. I spoke about this in Hiroshima in front of the memorial to the victims of that fateful August 6 explosion. It seemed to me there was complete unanimity on this question among those who attended the ceremony. Hiroshima renewed its appeal: for a universal and complete nuclear test ban, for the total abolition of all nuclear weapons. We urged present and future world leaders to come to Hiroshima and see for themselves the devastating horror of nuclear war.

FROM THE EDITORS: Two interesting trends can be observed in our mail. Americans are writing to the Central Committee of the CPSU and to Mikhail Gorbachev personally, while Soviet citizens are writing to President Reagan and U.S. Congress. Both are sending their letters to the New Times office. Some of the letters addressed to Mikhail Gorbachev have been published under the rubric Glasnost. In this issue we carry a letter to the U.S. government.

Evgeny Marchuk,
Odessa, U.S.S.R.

■ Dear congressmen, I write to you because I can't understand what SDI is. From the information available in this country, from the speeches of Western political leaders I have understood that no one on earth wants war, especially nuclear war. But the disarmament process cannot yet go full blast. I think it is being obstructed by the doctrine of nuclear deterrence and the SDI programme. If that is so, the prospects for our future seem rather gloomy to me. We shall always live in fear of a nuclear attack, even if it is only a single one.

I can imagine the situation that will arise in the world following the implementation by the United States of its "defence initiative." There is no doubt that the United States will be the first to do so, because it is richer than we are. This means that until the Soviet Union builds the same "umbrella" we shall live in constant tension, constant fear. After we have protected ourselves with an "umbrella," other countries will tremble with fear. Later on, they too will build "umbrellas" over their heads. And then, you think, all nuclear weapons can be scrapped with a clear conscience and an era of general prosperity and disarmament will come.

I wonder why we are wasting enormous sums getting nuclear weapons abolished. Perhaps mankind is not looking for simple ways of ridding itself of them. Or perhaps I'm not in my right mind if I can't understand this logic.

A MATTER AT ISSUE

Andrei Levchenko,
War veteran and veteran worker, Bukhara Region, U.S.S.R.

■ As a regular subscriber to your magazine, I impatiently await each new issue. I like the new rubric Profile Sketches from which readers can learn, albeit briefly, about people prominent in the fields of science, culture and politics. The items published under this rubric are, of course, interesting and educative.

I don't understand, however, why one such item, entitled "Reinstated" (No. 30, Russian-language edition), was so short. It was a notice about five men reinstated as members of the Soviet Writers' Union. In our time of glasnost and democratization the magazine could have written in more detail about why the men concerned were expelled from the union and by whom, or with whose connivance. Who personally from the pack of menials and toadies played a foul trick on them? What charges were brought against them?

The item published in your magazine does not give answers to these questions, and the term "reinstated" is somewhat ambiguous. I hope we shall soon learn who was who. We shall learn who slandered these wonderful people, genuine patriots.

Danny Barker,
Dorset, Great Britain

■ I would like to thank Anatoly Butenko for his fine article "What kind of socialism are they mourning?" (issue No. 15), in which he takes issue with the opponents of perestroika. I fully agree with the author that Nina Andreyeva's article "There is no betraying our principles" is a manifesto of the mourners for socialism who, in fact, are mourning anything but socialism.

The controversy over this article reveals a number of contradictions in the process of perestroika. I welcome this controversy, because it is always necessary to consider the arguments of both sides.

P. Lopatin,
pensioner,
Vladimir Region, U.S.S.R.

■ I want to express my opinion of Vladimir Ovsyannikov's article "The facade or the backyard?" (No. 32) which considers problems of Soviet economic cooperation with countries in the Asian-Pacific region.

The author writes of the need for the Soviet Union to make up for lost time in becoming a fully-fledged participant in such cooperation. It seems to me that his concern is groundless. In fact, let us see what contribution the Soviet Union cold make to the

GLASNOST

olution of regional economic problems.

Ovsyannikov writes that the ar Eastern economic region ccounts for only 3 per cent of he country's industrial output. lence the conclusion that, part from the resources of the egion and its vast natural ealth, the Soviet Union is imply unable to make any angible contribution to this ooperation. As our unhappy xperience has already hown, the continued squanlering of the country's natural esources and the spreading f this practice to the Far East an hardly be instrumental in urning the region into a grahary, industrial centre, and ealth resort area.

Let us leave our Far Eastern atural resources intact to osterity in the hope that they ill be able to use them rationlly. As for Japan, South orea, Taiwan, Hong Kong nd Singapore, they seem to e managing quite well, with-ut us, just as we are, for that matter.

CARRYING ON THE DISCUSSION

Y. Etinger,
Dr. Sc. (Hist.)
Moscow, U.S.S.R.

■ I fully support the proposal of film director Marlen Khutsiyev (iussue No. 27) to hold a trial which would determine – on the basis of law – the degree of guilt of Stalin and his accomplices for the grave crimes committed by them against the peoles of the Soviet Union.

The historic decision of the CPSU Political Bureau to erect a monument to the victims of Stalinism should be supplemented with a People's Trial of those guilty of lawless actions and repressions.

Vladimir Pakhomov,
Omsk, U.S.S.R.

■ I have subscribed to your magazine and I read it with interest. I want the magazine to carry more articles about people unjustly buried in oblivion in the period of the personality cult.

Many genuine Communists were murdered in the Stalinist period. But they believed in their ideals, in a bright future even in their darkest hours. They were confident that the truth would triumph. It did triumph – first, in the early 1960s, and, finally, in our own day.

However, even today we know nothing or very little about many of them. Please write more about these Communists. Could you publish, for instance, an article about Bela Kun, the founder of the Hungarian Communist Party, his activities in the last years of his life and his tragic death?

I. Kleiner,
programmer,
Kaliningrad, U.S.S.R.

■ In issue No. 36 I read Leonid Medvedko's article "A time to throw stones and a time to collect them." A very interesting article! Your magazine has become simply wonderful this year.

REPERCUSSIONS

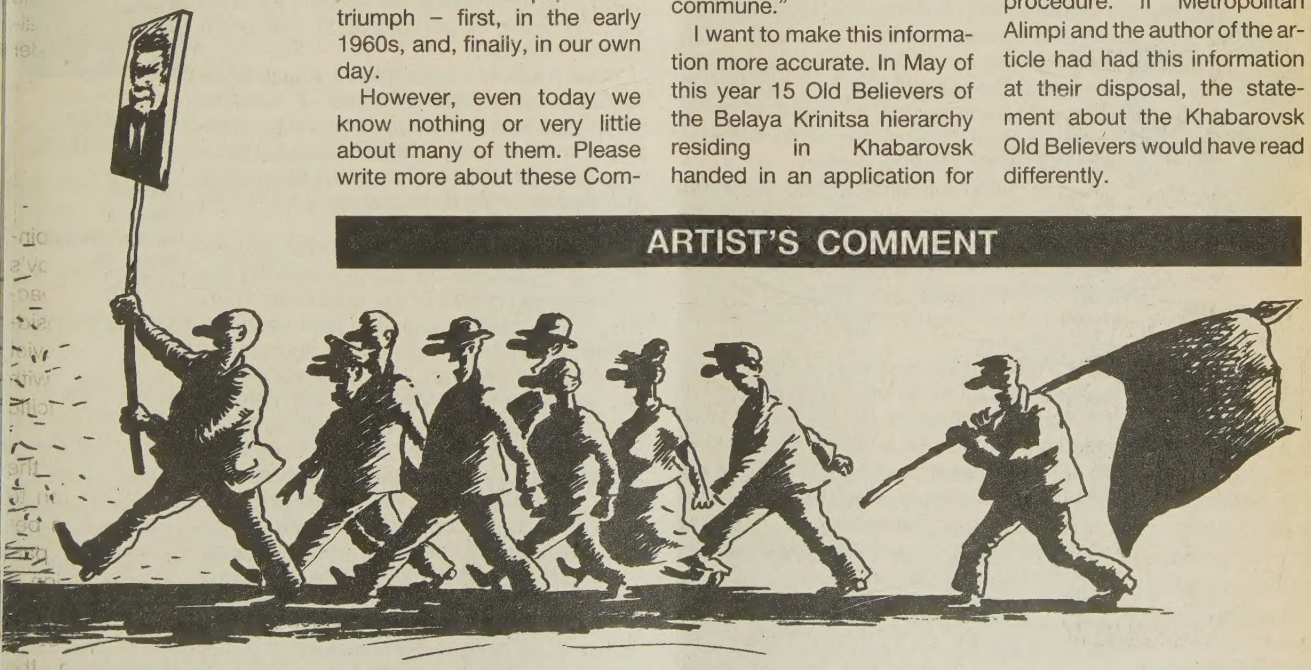
V. Nikulnikov,
Representative
of the Council
for Religious Affairs
in Khabarovsk Territory,
Khabarovsk, U.S.S.R.

■ Issue No. 33 carries an article "Their ancestors' tenets live on" in which Alimpi, Head of the Old Rite Church, Metropolitan of Moscow and All Russia, was quoted as saying that Old Believers in Khabarovsk "have already lost all hope of legalizing their commune."

I want to make this information more accurate. In May of this year 15 Old Believers of the Belaya Krinitsa hierarchy residing in Khabarovsk handed in an application for the registration of their commune. With the permission of the local authorities this group meets in the flat of one of its members. The application was favourably considered by the district and territorial Soviets and sent on August 19 to the Council for Religious Affairs under the R.S.F.S.R. Council of Ministers for the final decision. The Believers have made no complaints about the time spent on this procedure. If Metropolitan Alimpi and the author of the article had had this information at their disposal, the statement about the Khabarovsk Old Believers would have read differently.

GLASNOST

ARTIST'S COMMENT



Drawing by Vladimir Nenashev

HIGHLIGHT OF THE WEEK

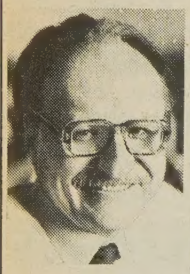
PRIVATE OPINION

Academician GEORGI ARBATOV,
Chairman, U.S.S.R. United Nations Association, Director, U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences' Institute of U.S.A. and Canada Studies

Professional politicians have long thought it essential to reinterpret many political realities, and more specifically, work out a new understanding of the role of the U.N. in the world today. UNITAR, the United Nations Institute for Training and Research, and the U.S.S.R. United Nations Association have resolved jointly to conduct round-table discussions as to the United Nations' future role in an interdependent world. Indeed, the very fact that politicians, scientists, diplomats and U.N. representatives have met for the first time to debate this matter is noteworthy.

True enough, so far the U.N. has been more a place where the superpowers grappled with each other than a genuine instrument for shaping realistic policy. One has only to recollect the times of John Foster Dulles and Andrei Vyshinsky...

It is easy enough to criticize the U.N., as is often being done today. We must realize, though, that the U.N. cannot rise above the policies of its members. Only they can restore its authority and prestige and make it an effective organization. Its function is to maintain world security. After all, the material and moral overheads ensuing from fear of universal destruction are costing the human race far too dear. Note in this connection too the threat posed by an ecological catastrophe. The point that survival could be ensured only if all nations work for it together was again stressed at the round table.



VLADIMIR LAKSHIN,
First Deputy Editor-in-Chief, the magazine Znamya

We have just observed the 160th anniversary of Leo Tolstoy's birth. This is a considerable historical period and can be divided into two parts: the 80-odd years of the writer's lifetime and the almost 80 years since his death. In short, Tolstoy serves as a bridge from the 19th to the 20th century.

As a favourite author throughout the world, not to mention Russia, Leo Tolstoy initiated a life-giving tradition in the realm of writing, with such eminent writers as Sholokhov, Solzhenitsyn, Grossman and Rasputin branching off from the mighty tree of which Tolstoy's work is the trunk.

Leo Tolstoy acquired from the 19th century the indisputable moral values and great common sense, from which he proceeded in his belief in the nation as an integral patriarchal whole, as well as his unflinching effort to uphold the truth as the pivot of Russian writing. The patient, painstakingly detailed psychological probing he excelled at also derives from the last century.

Yet this present 20th century can already be foreseen in the tragedy of his searchings, the explosive power of his indictment and his thirst for a new faith common to all of mankind, a faith in which he wished to blend christianity, purged of its shopworn rituals, with the other creeds preaching good, along with a spiritual awareness constantly reinforced by plain common sense.

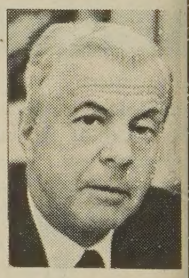
It was Tolstoy who came out with such impassioned ardour against the death sentence. His "I cannot keep silent!" is a symbol of his belief in the country's future journalistic fervour....

It was Tolstoy who fumed against the devastation of the earth and nature, thus anticipating the protest of the Greens and the awareness of that crisis of the natural environment that is now known as the ecological crisis.

It was Tolstoy who obstinately declared that no technological progress could make people happy and that no social changes, whether revolutions or reforms, could win out without moral progress and the human urge for self-perfection.

At the outset of the twentieth century, Tolstoy was one of the few who discerned what is now so graphically apparent as the century draws to a close.

This Russian seeker after truth, this Russian prophet, who was, moreover, endowed with the hypnotic power of magnetic artistic persuasion, remains one of those authors that the world needs most.



WILHELM CHRISTIANS,
member, advisory council of the Deutsche Bank AG (F.R.G.)

I believe the recent visit by a group of West German businessmen to the Kola Peninsula was both productive and eventful. Soviet Prime Minister Nikolai Ryzhkov advised me to go and see the peninsula's economic potential for myself when we discussed last spring a programme for its advancement, along with the possibilities existing for West German firms to participate in this programme.

While there, we assembled a wealth of information as to the amounts of minerals mined, the technical equipment of the enterprises and the transportation network. We intend to place all these data at the disposal of the West German firms that have shown interest in the programme.

We have learned that the Soviet government is to allocate 18 billion rubles for the further development of the peninsula. There are plans to set up eighteen joint ventures. These are certainly impressive figures. But one can also feel wary. How well worked out are all the details? What will the different ministries actually be responsible for? Our impression is that not all our Soviet partners are prepared to answer these questions.

On the other hand, the Soviet side seriously intends to cooperate with West German firms, and so I believe the existing problems can be overcome. I think the programme for the development of the Peninsula could be a model for subsequent projects should West German firms decide to participate.

Sailing on...

Alexei Bukalov,
our special
correspondent

The emblem of the Nicosia Non-Aligned Foreign Ministers' Conference is an ancient ship whose frail outlines remind one of the dove of peace. Early in September the emblem could be seen all over the Cypriot capital, on flags, banners, walls and in shop windows.

The hospitable Cypriots watched the arrival of guests to their island with polite curiosity. Thousands of residents of Nicosia worked hard in advance of the conference to ensure its success. A new congress centre attached to one of the best hotels in the city was built in the space of eleven months.

Accustomed to large influxes of tourists, the hosts have assured the best of comfort for the 700 delegates representing the non-aligned movement, observers and guests of the movement and the five hundred journalists who have arrived from all over the world.

Crossroads

The interest in the conference was justified. The non-aligned nations have a population of two billion and represent a powerful political force in the world today. The non-aligned movement is a unique international community covering a very broad geographical and ideological spectrum. The movement now unites 99 developing nations as well as the PLO and SWAPO. As one journalist pointed out, the movement now runs the whole gamut from Marxists to monarchists. Is such an association viable? Can the various tendencies in the movement be reconciled? The signs are that they can, and to considerable advantage. Having emerged at the peak of the national liberation struggle in response to the cold war between East and West, the non-aligned movement remains an important moral and political factor in contemporary international relations. Its opinion is heeded in all capitals, and not merely because the non-aligned countries account for two thirds of U.N. votes. Among the founding fathers of the movement were such figures as Jawaharlal Nehru, Gamal Abdel Nasser, and Josip Broz Tito, as well as Dr Sukarno and Kwame Nkrumah. The movement is now backed by the legacy of these statesmen from the developing world who founded it on the principles of peaceful coexistence.

The cold war has now been relegated to the past, and, let us hope, forever. It is now a vitally important task to the movement to define its part in a changing world and set out political guidelines.

That is why the interim forum of the non-aligned foreign ministers was an important stage in the definition of the strategy and tactics of the movement. Will it strengthen its influence and anti-imperialist potential, or will it become an amorphous affiliation of states pursuing mutually exclusive ends? Will it turn into an arm of the United Nations, or will it retain its flexible mechanism for political decision-making? Many observers asked these questions in the run-up to the conference in Cyprus. The results of the conference proved very encouraging indeed.

The six days of the conference demonstrated that the non-aligned movement possesses a considerable reserve of strength and that it is committed to peace and democracy in its policies. The conference set a record, attended as it was by 95 delegations representing the member countries and national liberation movements, and 15 delegations from observer nations and organizations. The conference was attended by 73 foreign ministers. The high level of representation created certain problems for the hosts, particularly with regard to the need to maintain strict security. On the eve of the conference the Cypriot police simulated an operation against a terrorist attack, but the shots they fired during their training were the only ones we heard in Nicosia.

An excerpt from the interview given to New Times by Andreas Mavrommatis, General Director of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Cyprus, Executive Secretary of the Conference.

There is a primitive opinion to the effect that as the two super powers are coming closer together, the need for the non-aligned movement falls away. This is an erroneous point of view because today our movement is needed more than ever before. We have to help strengthen the new thinking in international relations which is justly referred to throughout the world as being connected with the policy pursued by the Soviet leader Gorbachev.

The colours of Cyprus: blue and green

The government had ample grounds for apprehension. The calm and outwardly relaxed life and prosperity of the capital city are deceptive in many ways. The Muslim sign of the crescent laid out in stones on the slope of a mountain on the northern outskirts of the city can be seen from one of the central squares. The city, as indeed the whole country, is divided by the Green Line, an exclusion zone running along the tentative border between the Greek and Turkish communities. That line is said to have been drawn with a green felt-tip pen on the map of Cyprus

An excerpt from the interview given to New Times by Khalif Musa Samatar, Deputy Foreign Minister of Somalia.

The new climate that has emerged in world politics as a result of the Soviet-American dialogue has affected the Horn of Africa. An end to the state of war between Somalia and Ethiopia, the restoration of diplomatic relations that followed, as well as the withdrawal of troops from the border and the exchange of prisoners of war have substantially relieved tensions in our region.

We optimistically look upon the prospects of development of Soviet-Somalian relations. Our people gratefully remember Soviet aid rendered to Somalia at the first stages of its independent development and they wish the U.S.S.R. success in its perestroika, in the struggle for peace and disarmament.

by the general in charge of the U.N. disengagement forces in Cyprus in 1974.

The line passed through towns and communities as well as lives. Every morning a silent crowd of Greek Cypriots gathered outside the conference hall. They had fled from the north and were standing outside the hall holding placards appealing to international public opinion. The Cyprus issue, naturally, was one of the agenda items. Notes of hope were sounded in the speeches at the conference, and we were able to judge about that from news-conferences, as the foreign ministers sat behind closed doors. That hope has been justified because in mid-September another intercommunal summit meeting between the Cypriot Greeks and Turks is to take place in Nicosia at the headquarters of the U.N. observers, formerly the Ledra-Palace hotel. Officials at the Cypriot Foreign Ministry said the talks are going to be difficult, but that there is no alternative to them because the people are tired of strife and wish to live in a unified, independent and non-aligned country.

Chairing the movement

The division of Cyprus had an indirect bearing on the way the conference dealt with one of the most important issues on its agenda. The non-aligned movement has no permanent secretariat or budget, and is steered by the head of the state that plays host to the current summit of the movement. Consequently, choosing the venue for the forthcoming non-aligned summit, and that is one of the jobs of the ministerial conference, amounts to electing the movement's next chairman for another three-year term.

The Foreign Ministry of Zimbabwe has made it clear that Prime Minister Robert Mugabe, the current chairman of the movement, does not wish to seek another term.

Two official applications had been handed in, by Nicaragua and Indonesia, by the start of the conference.

Both were overtly supported by some members of the movement and covertly opposed by others. In keeping with the principle of geographical rotation, the next term should go to a Latin American country, but Nicaragua, whose candidature was, in a rare move, supported unanimously by all Latin American countries, failed to meet one of the formal requirements that the chairman of the movement must satisfy. The state chairing the non-aligned movement must not be in conflict with either of the great powers. The just struggle waged by the Nicaraguans against U.S. interference was an indirect reason for the country's failure to be elected chairman of the movement. Nicaragua's Foreign Minister Miguel D'Escoto, who has changed from a priest's soutane to a diplomat's tuxedo, was one of the few to give a news conference in Nicosia. He spoke slowly and with great dignity about the desire of his country to "bear the banner of peace" and its commitment to international law.

The Indonesian application was opposed by the Portuguese-speaking nations of Africa because of the Indonesian occupation of Eastern Timor.

The local press rumoured that Cyprus might be nominated to run for chairman of the non-aligned movement, and the Cyprus Mail even carried the front-page headline "We've got a chance," but the leader of the Turkish community, Rauf Denktash, gave a warning that the nomination of the Cypriot President to the post of chairman of the non-aligned movement would create a new political situation that could jeopardize the forthcoming intercommunal talks. Cyprus decided not to run. The next candidate to emerge was Yugoslavia, whose only "fault" was that it had already played host to the constituent conference of the movement in 1961. Since there is no written charter of the movement, this was ignored and Yugoslavia was approved as the venue for the 9th non-aligned summit in 1989. The appropriate decision, as all the others, was made by delegates on the basis of consensus.

An excerpt from the interview given to New Times by Tserenpiliin Gombosuren, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Mongolian People's Republic

Mongolia's status in the Non-Aligned Movement has been changed at the Conference which has just ended in Nicosia. The M.P.R. has been transferred from a "guest" status into an "observer" one. This reflects the increased prestige the Mongolian People's Republic enjoys among developing countries. The observer status enables it to contribute more actively in the efforts of the movement. Mongolia will continue to pursue its policy of peace and constructive cooperation on the international scene.

CYPRUS INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE CENTRE

Winds of hope

The same principle was used in the drawing up of declarations on political and economic issues, as well as all other resolutions and documents of the conference.

What is the principal political outcome of the conference?

The Nicosia Declaration says, among other things, that the improvement in Soviet-American relations and progress in disarmament, the INF treaty in particular, as well as the continuing dialogue on regional conflicts, pave the way for a new era in international relations. The political climate in the world today gives the non-aligned movement a unique opportunity to contribute to the solution of regional and other international problems.

The conference adopted balanced and dynamic resolutions on these crucial issues, reflecting the desire of the non-aligned nations to keep up with the pace of the times.

Fresh winds of hope are swelling the sails of the non-aligned movement as it strives for a better and fairer world.

NICOSIA – MOSCOW

QUOTATIONS

Willy Brandt,
President of the
Socialist International

■ The Soviet Union does not want, and is not in a position, to stand aloof from global problems. At present it is considering the question of joining the International Monetary Fund. I venture to predict that in the next few years the Soviet Union will begin taking part in conferences of this body. This is likely to complicate the work of the IMF, but will simultaneously facilitate the tackling of some problems. At a recent congress of the Social Democratic Party of Germany I mentioned the summit meeting of several capitalist and developing countries held at Cancun in 1981 as part of the North-South dialogue. I want to repeat my proposal: if the Soviet leadership reaffirms its responsibility, jointly with the West, for the solution of development problems, another summit meeting, with the participation of Mikhail Gorbachev and the newly elected President of the United States, could be held in Cancun.

Achille Occhetto,
General Secretary of the
Italian
Communist Party

■ We should begin to think in a new and different way and give up the logic of blocs. We should realize that there is only one world, not two or three. It is necessary to find a way out of the situation, with its divisions and East-West confrontation, and to recognize the interdependence of world processes. Possibilities exist today for embarking on this path.

See how confidence works? You can chuck the load without tipping the scale either way!

Drawing by V. Arsenyev

Jerzy Urban,
press spokesman
for the
Polish government

■ A model for the Polish trade union movement is an open question, provided factories do not become an arena for political struggles or auctions for bargaining by two or more trade unions operating at a given plant. All issues relating to the trade union movement cannot be tackled without the All-Poland Trade Union Alliance. The questions of pluralism, including trade union pluralism, advanced by the former leaders of Solidarity, have a broader character that goes beyond the limits of the trade union movement.

Roland Dumas,
Foreign Minister of
France

■ France should reappraise East-West relations because the Soviet-American dialogue has already led to important concrete results, and Western Europe should take a more active part in the establishment of a new international order.

Frank Carlucci,
Defence Secretary
of the
United States

■ The United States, as an island nation heavily dependent on overseas raw material, must continue its forward deployment of forces in Asia and the Pacific region. There is no cheaper way to American security.

Zaid al-Rifai,
Prime Minister of Jordan

■ Jordan will continue to support the Palestine Liberation Organization until the Palestinian people acquires its national rights. The Hashemite Kingdom will welcome the formation of a Palestinian government and give every assistance to it.

Hortensia Bussi de Allende,
public activist, Chile

■ The recent lifting of the state of emergency in Chile and Pinochet's statement that all Chileans living in exile can return home do not mean the end of the dictatorship.

Storm in the streets

Burma is in a turmoil with the confrontation between the authorities and discontented population having reached its peak. Here is an eyewitness account of the events in the country sent in from Rangoon.

The Burmese capital has never been like this before. There are red, white and green streamers in front of the pagodas. Interminable speeches are made censuring the authorities from makeshift rostrums set up at crowded crossroads. There are thousands upon thousands of demonstrators on foot, on bicycles and on the roofs of buses. Fences are scrawled with slogans demanding democracy and the resignation of Ne Win.

All this would have been impossible six months ago when the power of Ne Win and the Burma Socialist Programme Party he heads appeared absolute and the people of Burma seemed obedient subjects ready to comply with any order issued from above. Nor could anything like this have happened at the end of July when the new President, Sein Lwin blocked every outlet for opposition activities.

Amazingly, there are now smiles on the faces of soldiers and students as they gather here and there in small groups. The smiles are amazing, because a mere month ago the troops were machine-gunning children, students, and rebels were burning alive the policemen they had seized.

At night Rangoon looks like a ghost town, without a single car or bicycle in sight. Bamboo fences block your way every 40-50 metres, and self-defence groups are standing by ready to fight.

A little history

By the year 1962, Burma had found itself on the brink of a national calamity. There had been ethnic strife and blood was shed – mainly in the provinces – ever since the country won independence in 1948; the period of "liberal democracy" saw considerable differences between the parties, while the Burmese Communist Party blindly followed the principles of the Chinese leaders of the time. All this exacerbated the problems facing the country. Taking advantage of these circumstances, a group of army officers led by the Chief of Staff Ne Win seized power. They proclaimed the "Burmese way to socialism" and formed the Burma Socialist Programme Party. Later on they introduced a new Constitution to legalize the one-party system. The new regime began with a series of progressive reforms. It expropriated land from big landowners and more order has been put into the public health and education systems. In terms of literacy the country became one of the leaders in Asia.

But progress was shortlived as the regime began to degenerate into an autocracy of a military-bureaucratic type. The bureaucracy grew, and corruption was setting in rapidly. Burma borrowed only the negative aspects of the other socialist countries' practices and its economy became over-centralized. The opposition was brutally persecuted and not even the associates of Ne Win in the 1962 coup were spared. Some of them, however, for instance General Tin Oo (ret.) and Brigadier General Aung Gyi have now become the most popular leaders of the democratic movement.

By the end of 1986 it had become clear that the country was on the brink of a crisis. Tax in kind has been replaced by surplus-appropriation system which made things even worse. Peasant farmers tried to hold back surpluses and inevitably rice was wasted in dumps, thrown into rivers, or burned. The acreage sown with paddy shrank. As a result of that operation, intended by the regime in Rangoon to bring the country additional hundreds of thousands of tons of export rice, for the

The root of

U Nu, honorary chairman of the recently founded opposition Democracy and Peace League, had granted the following exclusive interview to New Times (before he proclaimed the formation of an interim opposition cabinet).

Question. What, in your opinion, are the prospects of political developments and the most urgent tasks of the democratic movement?

Answer. As regards political problems, all opposition organizations, and our League also, demanded formation of an interim government, multiparty system and free democratic elections.

The situation in the economy is not very good. The food problem is deteriorating. We are a rice-producing country and yet at the present moment we do not have sufficient amount of food. The price of the rice has gone up very sharply. And even if the people are prepared to pay the price the rice sellers demand, there just isn't enough rice in the country.

One of the reasons we demand to form an interim government is to enable it to solve the food problem as soon as possible. That's why we called upon the existing government to discuss the situation together, but as of now they are not ready to talk with us. But even if the authorities don't want talks, we are in favour of non-violent means of struggle.

Question. Your League is very popular in Burma now. What role will it play in the future?

Answer. As soon as the government announces the date of free and democratic elections, our League will be dissolved. We organized it not for taking the mandate of the people to form a government. Our aim is to press for changes people are waiting in the whole country and help morally and politically the young generation in their struggle for democracy. We offer them some financial aid, also.

Question. Some people who supported Ne Win say that multiparty system will be a step 26 years back...

Protest rallies in Rangoon and other Burmese towns continue...

Reuter-TASS photo

first time in its history Burma failed to meet orders from foreign customers. This in turn led to a decline in imports of raw materials and spare parts, and factories started grinding to a halt one after another.

The crisis continued unabated and the Ne Win government took the desperate step of withdrawing top-denomination bills from circulation without any compensation. More than half of the cash held by the population turned into worthless slips of paper.The poor were hit worst of all. The richer sections of the population kept their money in banks and the government's move left them virtually unaffected.

There was no way out of the crisis. In 1987 Burma requested that it be granted the status of least developed nation by the U.N., but this did not help either. The country needed radical economic reform.

A congress that met too late

In July the ruling party held an emergency congress. It considered Ne Win's letter of resignation and proposals for the introduction of a multiparty system. The proposals were unanimously rejected. With regard to economic development, the congress decided to introduce a new policy to encourage alongside the public sector the cooperative and private sectors, allow joint-stock enterprise and invite foreign capital. The programme adopted by the congress is on the whole realistic, but the trouble is that, as one long-serving diplomat has pointed out, the Burmese government al-

the problems lies in the economy

Answer. We think that a multiparty system and free elections the people are demanding now will bring democracy to a new, higher level. Naturally, those who set up the one-party system are defending it. But they are defending a wrong system. The economic tasks today are tremendous and one party will not be able to cope with them. The government economic plan is a long-term programme, but the problem is extremely acute now and demands urgent measures. The interim government can do it. First of all, food. If we come to power, we allocate money, if we have no money we can ask for some credits abroad, and we would buy.

Question. Burmese people are very enthusiastic today about democratization, but some people worry about a possible military coup d'état by Ne Win's followers.

Answer. The chances of a coup d'état are negligible. In the past the man in command of 4 or 5 battalions could think easily about seizing power. But after the latest events they will think twice, thrice, many times before commencing the actions.

Question. As a prime minister, you met with top Soviet leaders in Moscow and in Rangoon. What is your assessment of the importance of Soviet-Burmese relations?

Answer. The vistis by Nikita Khrushchev, Nikolai Bulganin and Andrei Gromyko did not only contribute to the development of bilateral relations, they helped us to overcome some serious domestic difficulties. I want the continuation of relationships between our countries, relationships formed in the fifties. I don't know now who will win in the forthcoming general elections, but it will be one of our pieces of advice to the new government to develop good, friendly relations with the Soviet Union.

Question. The past three years saw radical changes in the Soviet foreign policy, especially in the East-West relations. What is your opinion of the new developments in the world arena in this connection?

Answer. Mr Gorbachev is a very wonderful man. The response to his policy from outside is very good. In the past the Soviet leaders were not trusted and, in their turn, they did not believe the Americans and the British. So, the distrust was mutual. But now, as a result of your new policy, quite a lot of Americans trust the Soviet people, trust and like Gorbachev very much. The Soviet Union invited Americans to see weapons considered to be top secret. And the Americans invited Soviet people to the military installations to show the secret weapons they have in store. So, there emerges mutual understanding, and since Mr Gorbachev is a wonderfully efficient man, he could catch the hearts of the American people.

As the time goes, the understanding will grow. The large part of the population of our planet were feeling very gloomy fearing the nuclear strike. But as they see the prospects of mutual understanding between the U.S.S.R. and the U.S. growing, the world is feeling more secure.

■

ways takes decisions too late. This time it certainly took a decision that had been long overdue. Six months ago it could have been welcomed by the people.

The election of Sein Lwin as chairman of the Socialist Programme Party and President has done nothing to normalize the situation either. A retired general, he tarnished his reputation by ordering his troops to shoot students. Upon his election he introduced martial law in the capital, and arrested the more influential critics of the regime. The people responded by dubbing a small marketplace, where stolen goods were sold, the Sein Lwin market.

The situation continued to deteriorate and student unrest was rife in the cities. Clashes with the law enforcement agencies were taking place all over the country. It transpired that, far from exporting rice, the country did not have enough of it to feed the people until the next harvest. Prices went up again.

The crisis came to a head on August 8.

Uprising

On that day a general strike began. All factories closed down, transport ground to a halt, and markets and stores stopped doing business. Buddhist monks and workers joined the protesting students. In Rangoon alone nearly half a million people took to the streets.

The protesters demanded the resignation of Sein Lwin, the introduction of a multi-party system, a democratic general election, lower prices, and the release of political prisoners. Sein Lwin responded by issuing shoot-to-kill orders.

The army went about fulfilling his orders with unprecedented brutality. Non-violent protesters were shot and killed. The troops did not spare women, children or monks. According to the opposition, between two and five thousand people were killed on August 8-12. Tens of thousands were injured or arrested, but this time the army was not facing students alone.

The people who walked into machine-gun fire in August had nothing left to lose. An oil refinery worker told me that he preferred to die from a bullet than from hunger. I have never met him since. Perhaps he is still alive, but the chances are that he was killed, either in an attack on a police precinct, or in North Okklapa, a district of Rangoon that held out against several army battalions for three days. The people used knives, petrol bombs and slingshots against the army. A few had WW I rifles seized from the police. Burmese slingshots are a serious weapon, though. A few days before the uprising began a bolt sent from it killed the police chief of the Shan State.

Weapons were not the decisive factor in these clashes. The people's morale was strong as they felt that it was no longer possible to live in the old way and the sentiment carried over to the troops, who on a number of occasions refused to fight and joined the protesters.

The regime failed to crush the uprising and Sein Lwin resigned. He was replaced in the top party and state posts by Dr Maung Maung, another associate of Ne Win, but unlike the others, a civilian lawyer educated in the United States and the Netherlands. He voiced his intention to stop the bloodshed and act within the Constitution, while retaining the leading role of the BSPP.

He succeeded in stopping the bloodshed, and the confrontation between the army and the people came to an end after martial law was lifted, but the rest of his programme failed. The people were now aware of their strength and no longer prepared to be just obedient subjects of the regime. The assessment of the situation was again belated. Had he assumed power three weeks earlier, Dr Maung Maung might have managed to control the situation, but now he was looked upon as another protégé of Ne Win. His pledges to study public opinion and even discuss the issue of a referendum on the introduction of a multi-party system at an emergency congress of his party cut no ice. The people believed that they had made their stand abundantly clear on August 8 and demanded the immediate formation of a caretaker government and a democratic election.

While Dr Maung Maung was trying to speak peace to the nation, opposition organizations of workers and students on both national and local levels began to emerge. Mass defections from the Socialist Programme Party began.

The most influential opposition force at the moment is the Democracy and Peace League led, among others, by Mr U Nu, 82, Prime Minister until 1962, and Tin Oo. Also active in the opposition are Aung Gyi and Suu Kyi, the daughter of Burma's national hero Aung San, who has come from London. The opposition movement as a whole is a loose coalition of right- and left-wing elements, students, monks, liberals and social democrats united in their drive to topple the rotten regime. The opposition does not seem to have a programme of action beyond coming to power. Even such a prominent figure as Tin Oo could not define his concept of the country's economy in the future. "The people will decide for themselves," he said. They certainly will, if they are allowed to.

Kaleidoscope

At the end of August, riots broke out in practically every prison in Burma in what is believed to be a provocation on the part of the government.

Be that as it may, thousands of murderers, rapists and robbers are now at large. The police defected in the middle of August and the army looked on as murders took place in broad daylight and food and liquor stores were looted. They had no orders to intervene. The government-controlled press hinted that all this was the result of "democracy."

The people would not be intimidated, however. Self-defence units were formed in all parts of the country and public bodies of government were set up in some cities. Bandits were caught and summarily executed.

At the beginning of September, the situation was still kaleidoscopic. The opposition called a national strike on September 8. Peaceful demonstrations, with millions taking part, swept the country. Their demands remained the same: an interim government now, the dissolution of the BSPP, free democratic elections.

On September 9, U Nu told the nation that he had formed an interim government and that general elections would be held in a month, with voting to be done on a split ticket. The BSPP had its extraordinary congress on September 10, two days ahead of schedule, which was followed by an emergency session of the People's Assembly on September 11. Dr Maung Maung admitted that over 26 years of one-party rule the people had lost all confidence in the BSPP. It was decided to introduce a multiparty system in the country, with the appropriate amendments to be made in the Constitution, and to call mixed-ticket elections within three months – maybe earlier, if the opposition so demands.

All this, however, failed to put an end to huge demonstrations in the Burmese capital demanding an immediate resignation of the BSPP government.

Alexei Romanov

RANGOON

Respect and understand one another

Soviet-Austrian cooperation can serve as an example in relations between states with different social systems.

Alois Mock, Vice-Chancellor and Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Austrian Republic, was in the U.S.S.R. on an official visit on September 11-13.

A delegation of Soviet journalists went to Vienna on the eve of the Vice-Chancellor's departure for Moscow at the invitation of the Press Department of the Federal Chancellor's office. The delegation included VITALY CHERNYAVSKY, our special correspondent.

During the Moscow talks, the sides gave a thorough discussion to bilateral links and contacts and outlined ways of further improving Soviet-Austrian relations, developing the mechanism of political consultations, broadening the contractual base underlying these relations, intensifying our economimc cooperation and further diversifying its forms. There was a circumstantial exchange of views on pressing international problems. The dialogue has revealed that the U.S.S.R. and Austria take a largely identical stand on most issues.

Before meeting with Alois Mock in Vienna, the Soviet journalists had a brief talk with Federal Chancellor Franz Vranitzky. He told us that the Austrian government was anxious to promote its long-standing and mutually beneficial trade and economic relations with the Soviet Union. The outlook for these relations is bright.

"This is an important component of our foreign policy and foreign trade," the Chancellor stressed. "Joint Austro-Soviet companies for the production of cellulose, engineering products and other items are already being set up.

"We shall vigorously promote diplomatic contacts with the Soviet Union as well. The visit to be paid by Vice-Chancellor Alois Mock, Minister of Foreign Affairs, to Moscow is an important step in this direction. I am also planning a trip to the U.S.S.R. later this year to return the visit paid by Nikolai Ryzhkov, the head of the Soviet government, to Austria last year. Outside official contacts, we entered into important, useful, close and warm personal relations.

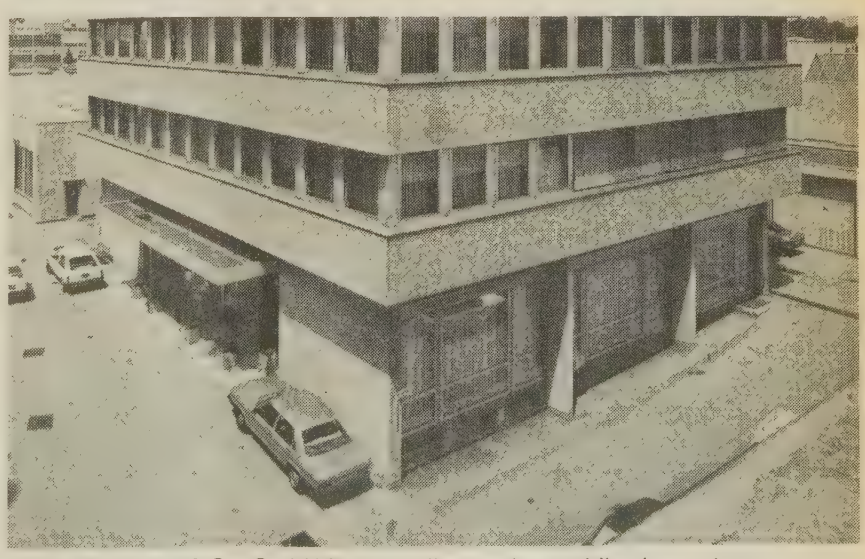
"I think there are good prerequisites for the further development of sound relations between our two countries," the head of the government said in conclusion.

"Vienna is of the opinion," Vice-Chancellor Alois Mock stressed during a get-together with journalists, "that the restructuring of Soviet society and the radical economic reform in the U.S.S.R. have opened up new and still broader avenues for the development of bilateral realtions between our two countries. This applies to economic relations, in particular. I think we are doing well in this sphere, but we should increase the number of joint ventures. We could have more exchanges in the fields of science and culture as well.

"The Moscow talks are not confined to bilateral relations, of course. We shall also discuss problems having to do with the current situation in Europe and the rest of the world. The Austrian Republic is a European country and takes an active part in all-European affairs. This policy line is being vigorously pursued."

Why, then, we asked the Vice-Chancellor, was Austria concentrating on building the Western part of our common European home: the country's proposed entry into the European Economic Community had been debated there since last year, and the government is actively pro-EEC.

Alois Mock was quite frank with us. Austria must join the Common Market of necessity, he explained. It already exports 64 per cent of its industrial output to 12 EEC countries, while imports from the EEC member countries meet 68 per cent of its needs. What would happen if the Austrians lost all this? In 1992, an all-European home market is to be created; goods, services and capital are to be freely exchanged and all travel restrictions lifted within the borders of the European Community. Austria risks losing a great deal if it remains outside EEC limits.



Austria's Landis & Gyr GmbH firm supplies modern public phones to many countries. An ever more active trade partner of the Soviet Union, it is now busy filling an order placed with it by the Moscow city telephone exchange.

He knows, of course, that not all of his compatriots share this viewpoint. There are apprehensions that entry into the Common Market will cost Austria its sovereignty and its policy of permanent neutrality – a cornerstone of Austrian foreign policy doctrine. But the Vice-Chancellor does not think so. Joining the EEC hinges on certain conditions, of course, but they will do no harm to the country's neutrality.

The leaders of the two other political parties with large factions in parliament share this viewpoint, albeit with certain reservations.

Excerpt from a talk with Peter Jankowitsch, Secretary for International Affairs of the Socialist Party of Austria (SPA):

Indeed we in Austria are now weighing all the pros and cons of joining the Common Market. Most of us are in favour of joining, but on the obligatory condition of keeping our permanent neutrality... The coalition parties are virtually undivided on the issue of the EEC. There is a difference in tactics: the Austrian People's Party (APP) wants to join the EEC now. For our part, we say there is no rush, it is necessary to think everything over and satisfy ourselves that Austria will not be prevented from pursuing its policy of permanent neutrality. If this condition is rejected, we shall not join the EEC.

Excerpt from a talk with Gerulf Stix, Third Chairman of the Austrian National Council (Freedom Party of Austria):

The FPA as a party of the opposition largely disagrees with the cabinet in office on home policy issues – but not on foreign policy ones. I am proud to say that our party was the first to advance the idea fifteen years ago of Austria joining the EEC. The task is now to have this idea put into effect.

Excerpt from a talk with Karl Kehrer, General Secretary of the Federal Economic Chamber:

I think that as members of the EEC we shall be better equipped to handle our economic problems. But the policy of permanent neutrality must be preserved at all costs.

Excerpt from a talk with Walter Wolfsberger, Chairman of the board, Siemens AG:

Joining the EEC is a necessity. Our commodity turnover with the EEC is growing at a much faster rate than that with CMEA. In volume, the former exceeds the latter eightfold. This is what statistics say. This is a fact, and there is no denying facts...

Well, it only remains to sum up what I've heard and to draw conclusions.

First. Ruling circles in the Austrian Republic have actually made their choice. Joining the EEC promises them economic advantages, and they will go all out to do so.

Second. They haven't yet decided when Austria becomes a member of the EEC. This is bound to happen not later than 1992. But they are hardly likely to rush things.

Third. The chief condition made by Vienna is the preservation of its permanent neutrality. If this condition is not complied with, Austria will stay out of the EEC. Political and economic experts have already worked out alternative variants just in case.

Another remark. It is of course up to Austria, and to it alone as a sovereign state, to decide whether to join the EEC or not and when to do it, if at all.

While not querying either the objective character of integration processes in Western Europoe, or the right of this or that country to make a decision, let us not forget about the other aspect of the problem. Will Austria, as part of an organization most members of which are aligned with NATO, manage to keep its independence and neutrality in full? Won't its joining the Common Market have an adverse effect on its economic links with the East?

Misgivings apart, the problem can be approached from an unconventional standpoint. The Austrians often call their country a bridge between these two societies, and with good reason, too – they are committed to permanent neutrality and they deal extensively enough with both East and West. So it has just occurred to me, why don't we look at Austria's joining the Common Market in this way: what will this move mean to relations between CMEA and the EEC? Considering the fact that Soviet-Austrian links are close enough, it is safe to predict that the entry of the Alpine republic into the Common Market would work, after all is said and done, towards a rapprochement between Europe's two economic blocs. In any case, our dogmatic refusal to recognize the Common Market until recently hasn't done us any good.

VIENNA-MOSCOW

The Panamanian dollar note is distinguished by the writing round the edge in what looks like Arabic characters.

These are anti-government slogans, and the note (which serves simultaneously as a leaflet) symbolizes the crisis Panama has now been experiencing for over a year. Until as recently as a few months ago, such defacement of bank notes were out of the question. Following the imposition of the American embargo, dollars have been withdrawn from circulation and, there are no other currency units in Panama. With the crisis past its peak, the government has managed to find a common language with bankers, and the money market has gradually returned to life.

It is a kind of phony crisis. Panamanian city streets look fairly prosperous by Latin American standards. Shopwindows are still crammed with imported goods. The crowds are well-dressed and seemingly carefree. There are no queues in sight. Even the sensation-mongering newspapers no longer alarm the man in the street with impending famine, or suggest he cut down his food consumption to two meals a day. Army patrols have disappeared from street crossings, and the police are trying to keep a low profile.

These changes do not mean, however, that the crisis is over. It has merely been palliated rather than cured. While the private sector is gradually emerging from stagnation, the position of the have-nots is worsening. The number of those in the subsistence wage bracket has conspicuously increased. The other Panama is effectively off limits to foreigners, and one sometimes hears of incredible things happening there.

A crocodile from Oblivion Street

Don Julio did not expect any guests that night. Hearing a knock, he got out of bed and, grumbling under his breath so as not to wake the kids, opened the door a chink. What he saw made him stop in his tracks: a crocodile, its eyes gleaming a sinister green, squatted on his doorstep. After a tense pause, the reptile smacked its heavy tail against the wall jolting Don Julio out of his trance. "Crocodile!" he shouted at the top of his voice.

Lights came on in the windows of the neighbouring houses.

"In an attempt to catch him, first we

Two poles

trammed a thick stick into his mouth," a youth of about twenty told me. "But the croc snapped its jaws shut, reducing the stick to matchwood. Luckily, someone had brought a length of chain along. So we chained the creature to a tree."

This happened in the Panamanian capital, well away from the centre but within city limits, in a lower-middle class district called Pedregal, known mostly for its large bus repair shop (red buses decorated with gaudy pictures in Panamanian folk tradition, are to be seen all over the city).

The crocodile was caught just a few kilometres from Omar Torrijos international airport, with the interocean canal only a little beyond it. Ships from all parts of the world call there. The centre of the city is dominated by a banking centre fitted out with the latest computers, which handle millions of dollars a minute. And from there, it's only ten minutes' walk to Pedregal, whose residents did such an expert job of catching the crocodile.

This sensational event drew no comment in Panama other than a matter-of-fact and inconspicuous newspaper report. Even in Pedregal few people showed interest in the incident. Small wonder – it was the third crocodile to have been caught there in the past year.

The crocodile was kept chained to a mango tree. The local people fed it boiled yucca, marvelling at the beast's voracity, until soldiers arrived one day, tied it up and trucked it away.

So I didn't have a chance to see it for myself.

"You're a bit late, Señor," the youth told me as we stood under the mango tree, "but it's not worth losing any sleep over. We'll take you to the lake which is swarming with them."

We set off along an unpaved Pedregal street escorted by a flock of barefoot kids, who are fascinated by strangers.

"See how we live here?" an elderly gentleman in jackboots asked me, joining our procession. "The city councillors came over in 1984, before the election, and promised to have this road surfaced. But nothing has happened since then. They'll turn up next in 1989, before the new elections, when they need our votes. This street is called Calle N. I'd call it Calle del Olvido – Oblivion Street."

The lake turned out to be merely a large, deep pool overgrown with cane. In order to see beyond the thick growth, my guide and I climbed a tree, with the others watching us. From the tree-top we could see murky green water, but no crocodiles.

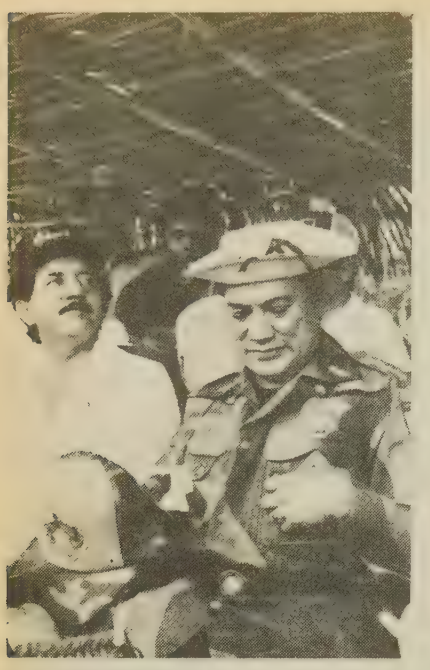
"They steal chickens. Dogs are lost at night. Those devils will be after our children soon," an elderly mulatto woman complained. "Why aren't the authorities doing anything about it?"

A stout Negro emerged from the crowd. He was stripped to the waist and wearing shorts. "Hey, Mister, the day the bosses come here, they'll send me to jail, I'm telling you," he shouted at me. "Do you hear me? They'll send me to jail because I'll give them a piece of my mind..."

"Pull up your pants, you," a shrill voice came amidst general mirth from the crowd. "You're talking to a foreign journalist, mind."

The people wisecracked and patted us on the back: the steam had been let off. Talking to a stranger, they had given vent to their long bottled-up resentment.

Under the mango tree we wished each other luck, as a Panamanian custom demands.



General Noriega

Face to face with oligarchies

The Panamanians are tired of the crisis. There is a pressing need for a gust of fresh wind, for new ideas. The government is trying to maintain the status quo. As for the opposition... Is it capable of carrying out the long-awaited reforms?

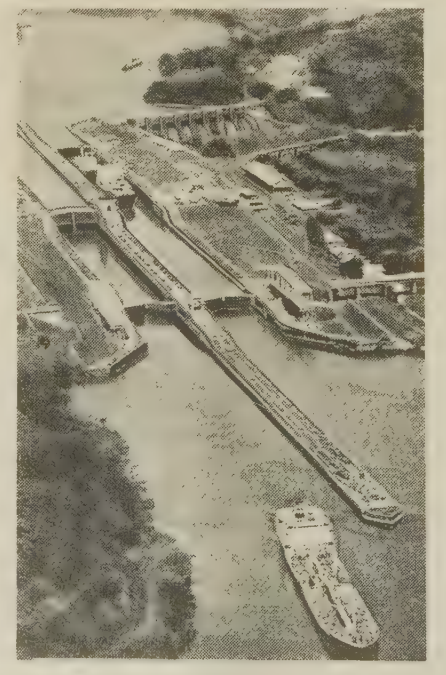
This is no rhetorical question. Over the past year, any political action against the regime has been identified with the extreme-right "civil crusade" movement, which the U.S. Embassy in Panama has certainly had a hand in organizing. It was precisely its connection with foreign interests that caused the "crusade" to die a political death long before bourgeois demonstrators had been crowded off the streets by police. The crisis sorted the country's political forces out into those upholding national interests and those for whom foreign interests come first. However not all of the opposition are prepared to betray the interests of the nation.

The more sober members of the cabinet are aware of that and seem to have no reluctance to enter into a preelection alliance with the healthy forces of the opposition. Opposition party leaders are wavering. But what is the opposition like? What sort of people comprise it?

I had a unique chance to see the "cream" of the Panamanian oligarchy: the Club Union, Panama's oldest aristocratic club, invited me to lecture on perestroika in the Soviet Union (this came as a surprise to me, I must admit). The President of the Club inspected me closely as he informed the audience that I was the first Communist to enter the Club Union since its foundation in 1910. A Panamanian journalist I knew regretted he was unable to attend the lecture – the Club was off limits to Blacks....

I found myself in a delicate situation. At the entrance I ran into ex-Vice-President Roderick Esquivel, who had been forcibly removed from his post. As a matter of fact, Eric Arturo Delvalle, the ex-President himself, is also a member of the Club Union, and could well have been present in the hall had he not been on the run in the U.S.A. The amazing thing was that Roderick Esquivel, on being introduced to the gathering as the "real" Vice-President, drew the applause of only a third of the audience. It looks as if even Panamanian big businessmen are tired of the old ways and also want change.

At first, though, the atmosphere was reminiscent of that which reigned at the meeting at the Sword and Ploughshare Union knocked together by Ostap Bender, the hero of a Soviet satirical novel. Respectable-looking gentlemen reported, in undertones, news of "recent arrests." Someone had been found guilty of keeping leaflets at home, and someone else had been caught tearing up a sheet of paper... But when the conversation turned to perestroika, everything changed. Shortly beforehand, the millionaire Luis Moreno, onetime manager of the Chase Manhattan Bank's Panama branch, who was seated opposite me, had commented, in passing, on a book that implied that communist infiltration was the worst threat facing Panama. I responded by saying that the author of the book was quite right; the fact that a Soviet journalist was rubbing shoulders with Panamanian millionaires – in the Club Union, of all places – had to be taken by Panamanian capitalism as a danger signal. The joke relieved whatever tension there was, and I had the impression that the atmosphere grew warmer as the evening progressed.



The Panama Canal

Will they beat the crisis?

The crisis in Panama is commonly regarded as a clash between the government and the opposition or, in the wider context, between Panama and the United States. Like any simplistic notion, this is one-sided. Be that as it may, whatever parties are involved in the conflict, this year of crisis has shown that none of them can emerge victorious from it. "The history of Panama," says the sociologist Guillermo Castro, "is a history of half-victories." A compromise is needed, and it is up to the Panamanians themselves to decide what kind of compromise it is going to be, without any outside interference, of course.

The tragedy of the situation is, however, that although they might not be entirely opposed to the ideas of international cooperation, the European-educated gentlemen at the Club Union are adamant in home policy matters. As for their Oblivion Street compatriots, who know from experience that in general politics is not to be trusted, they are so sceptical that it's not easy to convince them that the outlook for the future is bright.

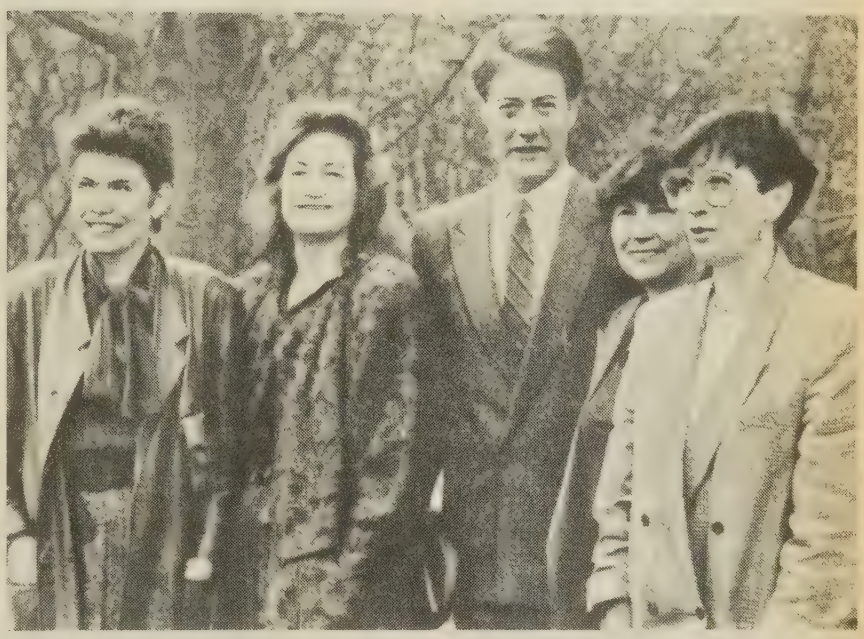
In the seventies, Torrijos welded the nation with the idea of the country taking over the Panama Canal. After the signing of the Torrijos-Carter agreements, the idea began to lose its impact. Someone had the idea of Panama automatically gaining sovereignty over the Canal in the year 2000. The crisis has shown that this is not to be the case. For it makes a lot of difference both to the Panamanians and to the United States which political and economic circles take over the Canal.

The military, who wield real power in Panama, are objectively upholding national interests by working for sovereignty over the Canal. But it is an open secret that the army is looking after its own corporate interests in the matter. Big businessmen also want the Canal back, but they'd like it to be privately operated, by the transnationals, perhaps, and to reap the dividends. This option is of course preferable to the U.S. All these problems, many of which have nothing to do with the interests of Panamanians, have become entangled in the tight knot of a crisis whose solution is not yet in sight.

Mikhail Baklanov
APN own correspondent
exclusively for New Times
PANAMA

Statesmanship: an art or a trade?

The victory of the Social Democratic Party of Germany in the early elections in the land of Schleswig-Holstein has ended almost forty years of Christian Democratic rule. The Social Democrat BJÖRN ENGHOLM is now Minister-President of the state. Our own correspondent Nikita Zholkver interviewed him.



Women's role in politics is widely discussed in the F.R.G. Above is Björn Engholm and the fair third of his cabinet. (Reprinted from Stern.)

New Times. Herr Engholm, how did you become a politician?

Björn Engholm. My political career has been a traditional one and typical of the working-class movement in the F.R.G. I went to vocational school, became involved in trade union work and the organization of college graduates and finally joined the Social Democratic Party of Germany. There are other ways of becoming a politician today. You can get a brilliant education and master the art of rhetoric, but I believe that I did it the hard and better way.

My motivation hasn't changed, I aspire to make the life of the majority of people better. The top ten or twenty per cent of our society needs no political representation, as they are doing well as it is. It is the ordinary people who need political representation. It is the workers who need political representation, especially now that structural change has begun in our economy. I see my task in trying to help them over the adverse effects of that process.

N.T. Schleswig-Holstein will be associated for a long time with Uwe Barschel, the former Minister-President of the state. Our magazine covered the so-called Barschel affair in issues 41 and 46 last year. What are the roots of the political scandal, in your view?

B.E. I believe that political figures like Dr Barschel can only appear in a country that is unself-critical and lacks a reliable system of checks and balances, in a society where careerism and vanity prevail and ends matter most regardless of the means used to achieve them. The only way to prevent such scandals from occurring is to advance humane social relations, encourage civic courage, stimulate creative imagination and self-criticism, and admit to contradictions. We must extend our system of values, and this goes not only for capitalism, but for socialism as well.

N.T. Does this mean that you don't exclude the possibility of a recurrence of a scandal of that kind? It would seem that your society has a long way to go before your ideas materialize.

B.E. I would very much like to hope that such extremes will not recur, though the probability of mistakes leading to irreparable damage on the part of those in power remains high. What we need is people of integrity, and more reliable mechanisms of party and parliamentary control. Regrettably, things of that kind cannot be ruled out in any society.

N.T. Popularity polls show that you are ahead of other members of the ruling coalition in Bonn. The press watches you more closely than the snoopers of the Harry Piel detective agency ever would. How does it feel to be at the focus of public attention?

B.E. Not very comfortable, because that attention is attracted to me by events that are not entirely pleasant. I have served for more than ten years as a member of the Bundestag, as State Secretary in Bonn and Minister for Education and Science in the Schmidt cabinet. I believe that in my public service I took decisions that were on the whole correct and progressive. I opposed moves by my own government on many occasions when I felt certain that they were wrong, but alas, there was little response to my actions. The media focussed on me after I became involved in a scandal. Our society should respond to one's positive contribution to it, and not just to sensations.

N.T. How would you sum up your cabinet's programme?

B.E. We want everyone, rich and poor alike, Schleswig-Holsteiners and people from other parts of the country, to participate in the advancement of our society. An important objective of ours is to help those who have found themselves in dire straits, the long unemployed and those who, having received an education, have found themselves on the street

or at a labour exchange. It is them I want to help above all, in order to involve them in building our future. But it must be said that the modest budget of this state will not stretch to providing jobs for all.

Ecology is another important area of our work in this state. We have a great deal of natural wealth, and the North Sea and the Baltic wash our shores. It is our duty to preserve that wealth and repair the damage that has already been done to nature. Our ecological programme is far more daring than the proposals of the Christian Democrats.

N.T. What practical measures have been suggested by the Social Democrats to combat unemployment?

B.E. It is impossible to resolve that problem in the context of a single state. We have adopted a two-way approach to the problem. First of all, we intend to create self-paying jobs. There is a colossal reserve in the transportation of goods to Scandinavia here as well as in the expansion of ties with the G.D.R., Poland and the Soviet Baltic republics. Cooperation with partners in the North and East European countries will enable us to create a large number of jobs, and the situation is now more conducive to this than ever before.

The second way is to expand the government's employment programme. Unfortunately, this cannot resolve the problem in the long term. Three or four years from now people will have to look for new jobs, and that is why I believe the first approach to be more reliable.

N.T. The West German Social Democrats are in favour of abandoning nuclear power engineering. You supported that stand in a recent interview for the weekly magazine Vorwärts, but it seems to me that you did not propose an alternative to nuclear power which account for 30 per cent of the country's energy needs.

B.E. If the information at my disposal is correct, they account for 27 per cent of our energy needs but, be that as it may, it is of course impossible now to abandon nuclear power engineering technically, politically or judicially. We are proposing a phased transition to alternative sources of energy over a period of, say, ten years. The alternatives to nuclear power plants are relatively straightforward. One of them is to save energy. We waste too much energy and heat in households and industrial and public use. There is every reason to believe that more rational uses of energy will enable us to save at least 10 per cent. Another way is to make optimum use of operative electric power stations, which are now only being exploited at forty per cent of their potential. We only use the electricity generated, while the heat is wasted. Recovering that heat would represent a saving of a further ten per cent. There are also alternative sources of electric power, and these are the most fascinating ways from the point of view of technology. We must exploit the potential of solar power, wind, biogas and garbage incineration. Hydrogen, the most ecologically clean fuel, offers tremendous energy potential. The implementation of these projects could take more than ten years and we must make a start today. I would very much like to see my country master alternative sources of energy faster than Japan or the Soviet Union.

N.T. There is a heated debate underway in the F.R.G. about the concept of security and disarmament. How do you assess the policy of the present federal government in the context of that debate?

B.E. The present government has borrowed a great deal of its international security policy from the experience of the Social Democrats over the past 20 years. It is to the credit of the Social Democratic Party of Germany that official Bonn has adopted a favourable attitude to the scrapping of medium- and shorter-range missiles, albeit after a long period of vacillation. This is of course a sign of progress. Another step forward was made when Franz Jozef Strauss and Lothar Späth went to Moscow. When we visited Moscow a few years ago we were accused of little short of treason. I believe that our society is on the threshold of important decisions, as outmoded ideological stereotypes and prejudices are being discarded. The differences in world views will remain between East and West, but they must not stand in the way of dialogue, cultural exchanges or economic cooperation. I believe that the idea of peaceful coexistence supported by Moscow and my own party is far more realistic now than ever before. Peaceful coexistence must be given a chance. That is something the Christian Democratic Union is becoming aware of.

N.T. You support the idea of economic cooperation between East and West. What possibilities are open to your state, a largely agrarian one, in this respect?

B.E. Besides very advanced farming, we have considerable medium-economy potential. I mean companies that employ between 50 and 3,000 people and use advanced technology. They account for progress in the key sectors of industry and could become valuable partners of enterprises in the G.D.R. or the Soviet Union. We would very much like to see such contacts develop, as we are aware that confining our economic activity to this state or the northern economic zone of the country will not enable us to utilize our potential to the full and could lead to a decline in production capacity. Medium-sized companies believe they can do very well if they contribute to international cooperation in the Baltic region. Many such companies are interested not only in selling their products, but setting up joint ventures in cooperation with foreign partners. Our goal is to help them step over the borders and identify new organizational opportunities for fruitful international cooperation in the spirit of the old Hanseatic league. We are banking on the changes in the Soviet Union, on greater decentralization and competence, and the freedom of managers of Soviet enterprises to take independent decisions. This will make it possible to restore the traditional economic ties between my small federal land and the Soviet Baltic republics.

N.T. Soviet companies are interested in cooperation with foreign partners at the highest technological level. What can companies based in Schleswig-Holstein offer?

B.E. The entire range of an industrialized economy is represented in Schleswig-Holstein. The production of medical equipment is at the highest level here. The company Drägerwerk AG of Lübeck has achieved world acclaim for the quality of its products. The latest in communications equipment is in Kiel. There is a great deal to choose from, except for car manufacture, steel production and coal mining, but we are much better off without them. There is even a small firm here specializing in the production of safety valves for nuclear reactors. We also have high-tech enterprises specializing in agriculture, and I am sure that there are excellent prospects for cooperation with the Soviet Union.

So, cooperation with the Eastern and Northern firms is quite possible. What we need is political will, and I hope that I will be able to provide it as Minister-President.

N.T. May I wish you every success. My final question is whether you believe you have a chance of becoming Federal Chancellor.

B.E. I don't believe that I will be Federal Chancellor. I have now been in politics for 20 years, but I returned from Bonn to this state of my own free will even before the social-liberal Schmidt coalition came apart. I am planning to be Minister-President here. Later, I may take up journalism or write a book. I have made a resolution to visit the Soviet Union for a vacation somewhere near Yalta...

LÜBECK-BONN

When the odds were not clear

The general election to be held in Sweden on September 18 will be more than a routine event

Every year Gotland Island, a tourist attraction in the Baltic Sea, becomes the "capital" of Sweden during the summer political recess. A shrewd politician, Olof Palme chose the beautiful Almedalen Park in Visby Harbour for regular meetings between the people and the leaders of the Social Democratic Labour Party (SDLP). The administrative centre of the island is known as the "town of roses," and the rose is the Social Democrats' emblem.

Shortly afterwards the leaders of other parties began to assemble there. This year the opposition leaders – Bengt Westerberg of the People's Party (Liberals), Olof Johansson of the Centre Party, and Carl Bildt of the Moderate Party – met on the island. They had been driven to the health resort not by the wish for shared recreation but by an ardent desire to demonstrate the unity of the bourgeois bloc before the start of the election campaign.

Deeds and "affairs"

Formally, the campaign begins in the middle of August, but the three opposition parties were eager to launch their offensives earlier. They have attempted to discredit the Social Democrats, both individual members and the party as a whole, seizing upon every opportunity of doing so. The dubious machinations and mistakes of officials from the Social Democratic administration have been used for exposures real and imaginary. The Carlsson affair (issue No. 34) was followed by a scandalous exposure of spying on left-wing radicals, illegal arms deliveries to other countries, and the allocation of a flat, bypassing the waiting list, to the daughter of a trade union boss.

Under the catchy slogan "The government is rotting," the opposition has mounted a full frontal attack on the government, the Social Democratic establishment, and the ideological foundations of the SDLP. The usual sparseness of other news in summer and their strong positions in the media have enabled the People's, Centre and Moderate parties to organize an extensive propaganda campaign. Their own arguments have been lavishly seasoned with material intended to discredit their opponents. The cabinet led by Ingvar Carlsson and the Social Democratic leaders were not prepared for such a confrontation. Moreover, the cumbersome Social Democratic party machinery was on ice for the summer period, while the numerous activists and supporters were on holiday.

Attacks by the bourgeois parties continue. They claim that the Social Democrats have been unable to exercise effective government of the country and that they have monopolized power for too long, a monopoly that is both economically and politically harmful. It can easily be guessed that, starting the game, the right have set their sights on removing the SDLP from power.

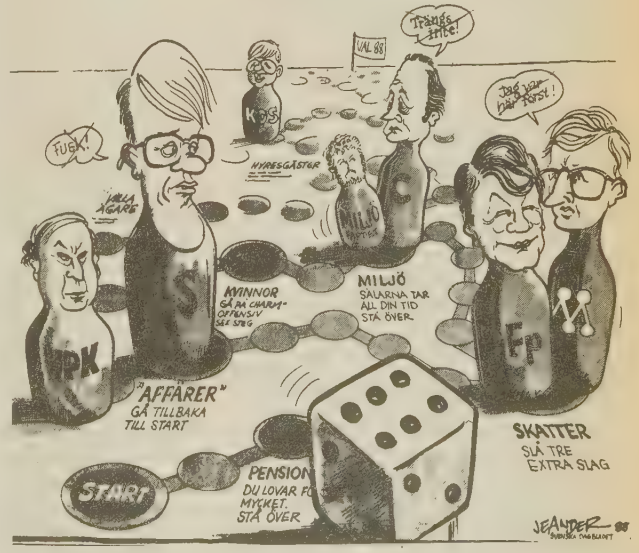
But politics is not chess. The battlefield is not confined here to a board with sixty-four squares. Having recognized in passing that some mistakes have been made and having promised to remain within the bounds of the law in the future, Ingvar Carlsson and his party fellows are launching a counteroffensive which is expected to reach its height during the last weeks of the election campaign.

"The bourgeois parties are divided as never before," the SDLP leader says. "They disagree with each other on all the basic issues of our society. The coming of a bourgeois government to power would mean quarrels, the shelving of problems for an indefinite period and paralysis of the state machine. The Swedish economy is certainly strong, but it will not withstand a bourgeois cabinet," he concluded.

Indeed, there is complete discord in the opposition on major issues, not to speak of minor details. For instance, the Centre Party is proposing to cut turnover tax on foodstuffs, whereas the Peole's and Moderate parties are against the measure. The Moderates favour greater differentiation in communal taxes, whereas the Centrists want to level them up. The Centre Party is promising to introduce tax privileges for the less well-off, while the Moderate Party is promising them mainly for the wealthy. The Centre Party is campaigning for the complete dismantling of atomic power plants before the end of the century. The Moderates do not want to deal with problems of power generation, whereas the People's Party is leaving energy problems to the free play of market forces.

Divergent positions

The Moderates hold right-wing positions in the opposition bloc. To the left of them are the People's and Centre parties. In reality, their positions are even more confused. The People's Party seems to be drifting to the right, while the conservative Bildt sometimes criticizes Westerberg from the left. The Centrists are pursuing such a vague line that at times their



The political situation in the country on the eve of the parliamentary election reminded an artist from Svenska Dagbladet of the children's game, "Who'll come first?" On the left of the drawing are the left-wing SDLP and the Left Party (Communists), and on the right are the right-wing parties. The Centrists are naturally in the centre, together with the Greens, while the Christian Democrats, who gravitate towards them, loom somewhere in the distance. The words "taxes," "ecology," "pensions," "wages" and so on show the problems these parties are tackling, either improving their chances or losing ground as a result.

party seems to be approaching the Social Democrats. These are by no means chance developments and they have not been engendered by differences within the right.

News analysts give many reasons for this state of affairs. However, Mats Svegfors, political editor of the second most influential newspaper Svenska Dagbladet, seems to be closest to the truth. I spoke with him in his office crammed with books and computers.

"A fifth of the Swedish electorate change their sympathies at every poll, but only within 'their' bloc – bourgeois or labour," Mats Svegfors told me. "That is why the struggle for votes is being conducted mainly between the Moderate, People's and Centre parties or between the Social Democratic Labour Party and the Swedish Left Party (Communists). Each of the bourgeois parties must therefore demonstrate its originality."

The Moderate Party, which won more votes than the others (21.3 per cent) in the 1985 parliamentary election, advocates the virtual "replacement of the system," that is, abandonment of the model based on the market economy in combination with the decisive influence of the state. But, remembering the lame attempt to campaign under this slogan in the previous election, the conservatives are now acting more cautiously. Their programme calls for the abolition of existing institutions and extensive social guarantees and benefits distributed in a centralized way.

Carl Bildt, Chairman of the Moderate Party, advocates "personal and individual instead of collective welfare." His party supports the idea of Sweden's participation in the European Economic Community and calls for stronger defences and tougher criminal legislation.

But the bellicosity of Bildt and his conservative slogans are not making his party very popular. I feel the Moderate Party is unlikely to increase its influence in the Riksdag (parliament). Bildt himself has been given just over two points on the five-point scale indicating the confidence of voters. Considerably ahead of him is Bengt Westerberg, Chairman of the People's Party, who has received just over three points. In the 1985 election his party won 14.2 per cent of the vote, and Westerberg is now considered the main contender for the post of premier in a potential bourgeois government. The young and energetic politician represents the type of a strong and charismatic leader. Politicians on the right speak with hope and envy of the "Westerberg effect," which could lead the People's Party to success in the coming election.

Preaching "social liberalism," the party advocates "freedom and the right of each person to develop according to personal ideals," combining this slogan with the conviction that "society must be based on social responsibility." Practically all elements of the Swedish social model and, naturally, any transformation of them, fit into this framework. "We do not want to shatter the foundations of the society built in Sweden, but reforms should be carried out to abolish the shortcomings created by prolonged Social Democratic rule," I was told by Lennart Nordfors, Secretary of the People's Party. "There can, of course, be no talk of 'Thatcherism' in Sweden," he concluded, thereby formulating the right-wing limits of his programme.

Having won 12.4 per cent of the vote in the 1985 election, the Centre Party is a junior partner in the bourgeois coalition. Its popularity always rises at times of ecological upheaval. However, this time it has been unable to capitalize on either the mass death of seals or the "pollution" of the sea with poisonous aquatic plants. The expected decline of the Centre Party's prestige is attributed by commentators to the tarnished political image of its leader Olof Johansson. "Like Pinocchio, Johansson swings his arms and dangles his legs every time Bildt and Westerberg pull the strings," Stig Malm, the Swedish trade union leader, comments acidly.

Does Carlsson have a dream?

As distinct from the bourgeois parties, the Social Democrats are not criticizing the internal situation but taking pride in their achievements. "Now, after six years of Social Democratic government, economic recovery has been achieved without cuts in social welfare: the number of unemployed has been reduced by 37,000; industrial investment has increased by 68 per cent, the budget deficit has been cut by 76.9 billion SEK, the annual rate of inflation is down to 6.2 per cent, and real wages have risen by five per cent," the Social Democratic election manifesto says.

This is not boasting, but a fairly objective assessment. The economic and social health of Sweden is as sound as never. According to an influential Danish economic journal, Sweden holds second place in the world in this respect. The list of the country's achievements could be continued, but there is no need to do so. No serious criticism can be made of the way the Social Democras have been running economic affairs.

However, the Social Democrats can be seriously criticized for their policy, and not only from the right. "Where are your ideas, Mr Carlsson?" asks Aftonbladet, a newspaper close to the trade union leadership. In the newspaper's opinion, "to look into the future is more important for a successful conclusion of the election voyage than gloating over past virtue."

Incidentally, the SDLP is drawing up a package of reforms that will reduce direct taxation, a package of measures for environmental protection, an improvement in work conditions in industry, an extension of the system of benefits for families with small children, and many other reforms. But all of them are merely a development of the party's traditional policy. The Social Democrats promise nothing fundamentally new. Of course stable prosperity is very important for Swedes, 44.7 per cent of whom voted for the Social Democrats in 1985. However, the "social liberalism" of the People's Party also promises to maintain stable prosperity and, moreover, in an original wrapping.

Meanwhile voters are expecting Ingvar Carlsson and his team to demonstrate a new approach to the development of the Swedish model.

"We very much need our own perestroika," a young salesman in a radio shop spontaneously told me. "Glasnost is necessary against Swedish bureaucracy," Torbjörn Säfve, a prominent writer, echoes him. Not a few voices of this kind are being heard today. The time has come to change quantity into quality. However, the SDLP, which marks its centenary next year, is finding it hard to make the qualitative leap.

The bourgeois opposition can only form a government if it wins a majority in the Riksdag. But will it gain a majority and how long will the unity of the three parties last? Most news commentators believe that the opposition is unlikely to win an outright victory. But the victory of Ingvar Carlsson is not a foregone conclusion either. A new party, the Greens, could appear in the Riksdag. According to opinion polls, the Greens' popularity will enable them to cross the four per cent barrier needed for the election of their candidates to the parliament. Will they back the Social Democrats, or would they prefer to see a bourgeois cabinet – a more convenient target for criticism? The Greens don't answer this question. It is not clear either whether the Social Democrats will be supported by the Swedish Left Party (Communists).

In any case, after September 18 Ingvar Carlsson will have to give an answer to Aftonbladet. With or without a government mandate for the next three years, the SDLP leader will have to show whether he is, as the right say, a capable but unimaginative official or whether, as the Social Democrats hope, he is a potential innovator waiting for the right moment.

Alexander Polyukhov
our own correspondent
STOCKHOLM

The army and liberalization

Alexei Yuriev

A half-serious, half-joking aphorism believed to have been coined by Mohammed Hatta, independent Indonesia's first vice-president, goes:

"If you think you know the situation in Indonesia, it means you are poorly informed."

Incomprehensible events combined with the complex factors that have determined the situation in the republic over the last few decades have only further asserted the truth of this paradoxical statement. However, inexhaustible interest in Indonesia (with the world's fifth biggest population, now standing at 170 million) has urged students to search for an internal logic in these confused developments.

Officially permitted world outlook

It appears that in Indonesia the latter half of the 1980s has been, in a sense, a transitional stage for the "new order" political regime that took power in 1966. This regime relies on the army, which is both the main political force and the government machine. For more than two decades the "new order" has regarded the country's accelerated economic development on capitalist lines as its main social function. And it has achieved a lot in this respect, through the encouragement of both local enterprise and, particularly, foreign investments and loans. At the beginning of 1988 transnational corporations were granted licences to invest 17 billion dollars in several sectors of the economy, in addition to the oil and natural gas industries. The lead taken by Japan is being followed by Hong Kong, the United States, the Netherlands and the F.R.G. But the transnationals have invested even more – approximately 20 billion dollars – in the production and refining of oil and natural gas. In this area it is the United States monopolies that have secured the lead.

All political activity in the country is strictly controlled. In 1985 the regime introduced the so-called "unified principle" as the only officially permitted world outlook. The authorities regard this as their supreme achievement. This is the state ideology known as panca sila (five principles): faith in God, democracy, national unity, social justice, and humanism. When the "new order" regime was first established it imposed a strict ban on the promulgation of scientific socialism and its ideas. Left-wing nationalist views were tolerated. The introduction of the "unified principle" split the Moslem United Development Party and weakened it. Until then it had been a major opposition force which relied on the devotion to Islam of most Indonesians. Having adopted the official world outlook as its ideological basis (this was precisely what the regime intended when it introduced the "unified principle"), the party, so to say, forsook Islam as its supreme spiritual and political value. The United Development Party lost many of its supporters as a result of this step.

This is evidenced by the outcome of last year's parliamentary elections, in which it lost a third of its seats (it now has 61 instead of 94). The position of the country's leaders remained unchallenged. It was actually qualitatively improved: according to a long-standing rule 100 (out of 500) seats were automatically reserved for the army command. In addition, the pro-government Gologan Karya (Golkar) Functional Groups increased the number of their seats to 299. However, the Indonesian Democratic Party quite unexpectedly improved its position winning 40 seats (as against 24). During the election campaign it appealed to the personality and views of Sukarno, Indonesia's first president, who was deposed in 1967. With the process of rapid property differentiation developing in the country and the army's monopoly of key positions in the government machine, the populist concepts of the late leader have won new supporters for the Indonesian Democratic Party, particularly among the young.

All this reflects the unrest in the country which erupts into the open from time to time. It flares up in various forms, such as youth disturbances, intercommunal clashes, actions by Moslem extremists who want to set up an Islamic theocracy, workers' strikes for better working conditions, or peasant rebellions against evictions and other arbitrary acts by landowners.

Indonesian statistics have shown a rise in nominal wages in some economic sectors. However, this rise is way behind the soaring prices. The same statistics reveal that there are one and a half million people who are fully unemployed and over seven million people working less than 15 hours a week. About 40 million Indonesians are seeking a permanent job.

Emergency measures in the economy

The situation in Indonesia is being aggravated by complications in its foreign economic relations. There are three causes for that. First, world oil prices have dropped drastically and oil is Indonesia's main export item. Second, the fall in the exchange rate of the American dollar against the Japanese yen has painfully damaged its interests. Indonesia derives most of its revenue from exports in dollars, whereas it has to repay the bulk of its foreign debt in yen. The decline in the exchange rate of the dollar alone has cost the country close to 4 billion dollars. The total foreign debt has exceeded 38 billion dollars. In the current fiscal year it has to pay its foreign creditors a sum of 6.4 billion dollars, and this accounts for more than half of all the government's current budget expenditure. And, finally, the third cause is the protectionist policies of the industrially developed capitalist countries. They have imposed restrictions on imports from developing countries, including Indonesia.

The Indonesian government has taken a series of emergency measures to avoid bankruptcy. It has concentrated in particular on increased exports of products turned out by the processing industry and farm produce. In 1987 the export of such goods as rubber, timber, palm oil, nonferrous metal ores, fish, tea, coffee, spices, textiles, mineral fertilizers and other products of the non-petroleum industries brought in 8.5 billion dollars. It was the first time in roughly 20 years that the returns from these exports had exceeded those from oil and natural gas (8.2 billion dollars). The government was forced to postpone the construction of several important industrial projects and the planned rises in salaries for civil servants and pay for servicemen. It also to some degree decentralized management of the economy. The restrictions on the operations of foreign capital were further relaxed.

However, official spokesmen have

made it clear that the decentralization of economic management does not mean any liberalization of the political system. This statement has effectively been made in response to the discussions that have been in progress in the country in recent years on the present system of government, economic development, the rising educational level of the people, the establishment of new production relations in an only recently semi-fudal society, and growing activity in the sphere of international relations. These factors have caused more and more entrepreneurs, intellectuals and students to question the army's officially proclaimed unchallenged right to govern and prompted them to give thought to the prospects for further social development along democratic pluralist lines. Thus Kompas, a paper expressing the views of business circles, has persistently advanced the idea that the official ideology should acquire a more open character, that the government should not be the only interpreter of the panca sila principles and that it should not restrict discussions on outstanding problems bearing on the development of the country. And such ideas are being voiced more and more frequently.

Succession of generations

To a certain extent such hopes have been kindled by the new generation of officers who have taken command of the armed forces, by people now in power – people who are less personally involved in the tragic crises and conflicts of the last few decades. The eminent scholar Yuwono Sudarsono examines his country's prospects in precisely this light. He believes that the new generation of leaders is far better equipped than the preceding one to attend to the demands put forward by the nation.

Eearly this year General Tri Soetrisno, one of President Suharto's closest associates, was appointed commander-in-chief of the armed forces. In terms of real power, this is the second most important post in Indonesia. Addressing a parliamentary committee, the new C. in C. said that if the army were to inhibit social progress, it would be disregarding reality. Higher official circles have hinted, though somewhat obscurely, that it is intended to limit the powers of the hitherto omnipotent security service which, since 1965, has inspired the people with justified fear. General Kharis Suhud, chairman of the new parliament, has given it to be understood that it is his wish to enhance the role and prestige of this elective body.

Last March the People's Consultative Assembly, the supreme body of state power in Indonesia which is convened once in five years, held its session. It hears the president's report, approves draft guidelines for government policies and elects the head of state for the next term of office.

During the preparations for the session the United Development Party was unprecedentedly active. When the draft guidelines for government policies were being discussed, its spokesmen requested, among other things, permission for the parties to establish local branches to canvass the villages directly (today canvassing is restrected to the district level), allow civil servants to vote for opposition parties and not just for the pro-government Golkar in line with existing practice, and to forbid them to become members of the executive bodies of political organizations (as is the case with Golkar, which is headed by government officials). Another even more surprising move by the United Development Party was to nominate Jailani Naro, its leader, for the post of vice-president, to run against General Soedharmono (ret.), Golkar nominee and leader, and a government minister. It was only at the last moment that, on the insistence of the head of state, Jailani Naro withdrew. After a heated discussion all the other proposals of the United Development Party were shelved by the Assembly committees. The leaders of the party could hardly have counted on success, as the government controlled more than 80 per cent of the Assembly's members. In resorting to demonstrative action, the leaders of the United Development Party hoped to win back the supporters they had lost during the preceding general election.

What is meant by democracy?

Is a change of some sort in Indonesia's political regime possible? In his report to the People's Consultative Assembly, President Suharto said that the country's economic progress is effecting certain social changes which influence the system of values and mode of thought. They are also breeding new forces, and giving rise to hopes and aspirations in society. He further pointed out that at the same time the army has increasingly convincingly demonstrated its ability to accomplish its historic mission as a dynamic and stabilizing force that preserves state ideology and constantly invigorates it.

The military press has stated flatly that, as in the past, the army will continue to play a leading role right across the board. It has called on its readers to suppress all attempts to denigrate the army and split its ranks.

It is true that some Golkar leaders have expressed themselves in favour of democratizing the political system to a certain degree. However, the interpretation of the concept is of a peculiar character. In an interview for The New York Times Sarwono Kusumaatmadja, Golkar's General Secretary, said, among other things, that the Indonesian concept of democracy is different from that of the West. There democracy is something that is connected with the adoption of decisions and participation of the people in this process. But Indonesian idea of democracy is best characterized by compassion. If somebody who holds a leading post is thoughtful about someone's needs and hopes, that is democracy.

President Suharto was reelected to the post of head of state for the fifth term. Referring to a "latent communist threat" the Assembly endowed him with broad powers to maintain order. Servicemen both active and retired have again been given the key posts in the cabinet.

Nonetheless, one cannot ignore the fact that in recent years socio-political thought has become somewhat more active and analytical.

Today the parties and political groups are far more concerned about internal problems than about problems of foreign policy and foreign policy orientation. The principles of non-alignment, and active and independent foreign policy are not challenged by anyone. However, many people admit that the position of a dependent partner within the framework of the capitalist world economic system has created serious difficulties for the country. Precisely because it is a developing country, Indonesia feels an objective need to pursue an independent policy that would, at least partially, defend it against neocolonialist sallies by the West.

On the whole, Jakarta is consistently working for a relaxation of international tensions. It is supporting steps designed to curb the arms, and especially the nuclear arms race. It was Indonesia that proposed to create a nuclear-free zone in Southeast Asia. It has been contributing persistently to efforts to achieve a political settlement of the protracted regional conflict in Kampuchea. It was in Bogor, Indonesia, that the first informal meeting of the four Kampuchean parties, as well as of representatives of Vietnam, Laos and the ASEAN member states, was held on the problem of Kampuchea late last July.

Indonesia's relations with socialist countries have made perceptible progress. The dialogue between Jakarta and Moscow is being conducted at a higher level: the Foreign Ministers have exchanged visits. Ever more trade is being done with socialist countries. ■

Fifty per cent is more than just half

An interview with Academician Andrei Sakharov

New Times. The Pugwash movement could be described as something of a symbiosis of science and politics. What is your view of the relationship of these two spheres? How in practical terms does science influence politics?

Andrei Sakharov. I am afraid I do not know how scientists and other personalities active in public life influence political developments today. At the present time the political system throughtout the world operates on so many different levels that it is difficult to say exactly how the mechanism of political decision-making works.

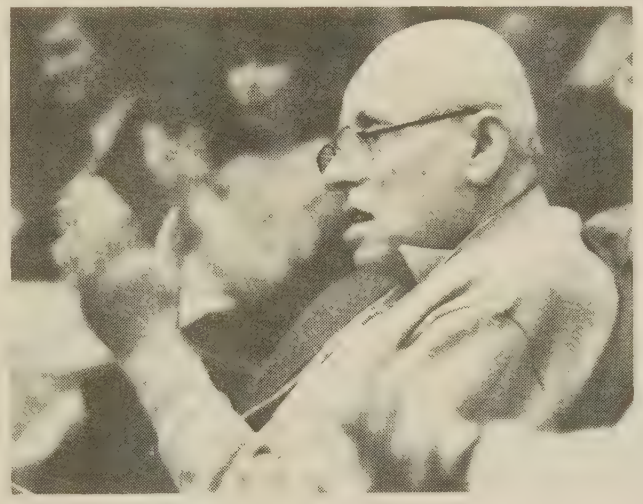
Although I myself am rather remote from the higher echelons of power it nevertheless seems to me that the changes now taking place in the public consciousness extend also to the ruling elite. This applies both to our own and other countries.

It is possible that in former times, say in the Middle Ages or at the beginning of the Renaissance, the influence of scholars on politicians was more direct. Obviously the political programmes, too, at that time were simpler, clearer. The ruler could either agree or not agree with the scholar, and if disagreed he could order the learned man to be beheaded – such things did happen. Today scientists' heads are not chopped off. At the same time, the multilevel machinery of power and the abundance of advisers of every kind strengthens bureaucratism and makes the whole system of power highly conservative.

New Times. But surely Pugwash, more than any other movement of academics, demonstrates the part played by science in preserving human values. How would you evaluate the work of the present Pugwash conference from this standpoint?

Andrei Sakharov. This is the first time I have taken part in a Pugwash conference. In former years, when foreign scientists raised the question of my participation, the Soviet side strongly objected. Now the situation has changed. It is even my impression that I am being used as a kind of bait for a certain category of foreign scientists.

Frankly speaking, I expected the conference to be more productive, more concrete. But the real, the true purpose of Pugwash seems to be the promotion of contacts, discussion; as for concrete conclusions, these call for more specialized discussion based on fundamental studies. That is evidently the case.



Andrei Sakharov at the conference in Dagomys
Photo by V. Velengurin

And, of course, the fact that Pugwash offered an opportunity for free discussion and expression of different opinions by people adhering to different positions, is also unquestionably a good thing. The spectrum of opinion could be even wider, for participation in Pugwash is itself an indication of a certain choice. True, in this respect, too, the situation is beginning to change. I, for instance, listened with great interest to the speech of the American professor Paul Doty who in some respects approached problems from a different angle than the other participants. His postulate struck me as highly rational. Like the traditional, they are pervaded by concern for the preservation of peace and the prevention of those terrible dangers that today threaten mankind.

New Times. As far as we know you also spoke at the conference. What did you say, if that is no secret? After all, the Pugwash meetings are confidential, although the participants do have the right to voice their opinions to the press.

Andrei Sakharov. Both in my main speech and in other communications I tried to formulate some of my views in a number of concrete issues.

One idea, which I consider highly important and which I constantly propound, relates to the urgent need for the conclusion of an agreement on a 50 per cent reduction in strategic nuclear armaments. I believe that a 50 per cent cut is not simply half way to total abolition. It is the most important part of the way, because it would create a qualitatively new situation. In my opinion the usual verification systems which were discussed at the conference ought to be ruled out here. And the problem of verification of cruise missiles – to ascertain whether they have nuclear warheads or not – which causes the most concern should be resolved only by on-the-spot inspection. This thesis is addressed mainly to the representatives of the Western countries since, as far as I know, most of the cruise missiles are in the West. Unfortunately, this thesis was not included in the official documents of the conference because, as I understand, of some vague political considerations, which I believe was not right.

Further, I advanced a proposal of a fundamental character which concerns the Soviet side – the unilateral reduction of the length of military service in the U.S.S.R. by approximately half.

It seems to me that at the present time the Soviet Union is not threatened by aggression of any kind. There are no longer

any Hitlers. I am convinced that the great tragedy that overtook us and all of mankind as a result of the advent to power of Hitler and the unleashing of the second world war was in many respects linked with whole range of the mistakes and crimes of Stalinism. I shall not analyze the events of that time in detail here, I shall merely say that they gave rise to fear of the U.S.S.R. in the Western countries and impeded the establishment of real cooperation between these countries and the U.S.S.R., and even before that, set the Communists in Germany against the Social Democrats. The result of this whole tragic concatenation of circumstances was war.

Today, I repeat, the situation is altogether different. I believe that literally no country today threatens the Soviet Union with attack. Even if the Soviet's armed forces are reduced by half that is absolutely excluded. Such a reduction would be of enormous international significance. It would improve the conditions for the solution of the problem of reducing conventional armaments both in Europe and in the world as a whole. And it would be conducive to the devlopment of a fruitful dialogue on far-reaching nuclear reductions. Apart from which it would be of great social significance for the U.S.S.R., for its internal policy. It would be important also for the more rational use of manpower resources in the country, for the youths at schools and institutes and also make for a healthier atmosphere in the army.

Several other concrete proposals relating to serious environmental problems occurred to me at the conference. The initiative in proposing how one such problem could be solved belongs to my wife. It concerns the problem of the destruction of tropical forests. Forests, the lungs of our planet, are disappearing literally before our eyes. For many reasons – demographic, social and economic. The relevant proposal is that a special fund made up of a certain percentage of the national income, be set up to encourage countries that are not restoring their forests to do so. This proposal could also promote international control over the solution of ecological and any other problems as well.

Another of my proposals relates to the urgent need to study the degree of the threat to humanity, to individual human beings and, indeed, to living organisms – the threat presented by the growing chemicalization of our lives. This process is going on in a vast number of areas. It is mainly expressed in the intensification of agricultural production. I know, for instance, what is happening in Uzbekistan and other cotton- and rice-growing regions. Besides, there are a great many channels for the penetration of chemicals all over the world. And we have no idea of what this will lead to eventually, say fifty years from now. Clarity, and a single world policy in this sphere are needed if already today there are every grounds for sounding the alarm.

And my last proposal. To prohibit the construction of nuclear reactors on the surface of the earth. I am firmly convinced that nuclear reactors must not be built on the surface. Whether they should be built underground is a question that must be decided separately depending on economic, social and other factors. I, personally, believe that mankind cannot do without nuclear energy, and I am sure that all serious specialists in this field are of the same opinion. But absolute safety must be guaranteed. The only cardinal solution of the problem is to build reactors deep enough underground to prevent discharge of radiation into the atmosphere even in the case of the most serious accidents. Technically this is perfectly feasible, it is also economically feasible – it is estimated that the construction of underground reactors will increase the cost by about 20 per cent.

It is my deep conviction that surface reactors are not altogether safe technically. This is confirmed also by all experts, except that they are not so categorical about it. There are also other considerations which cannot be ignored. For instance, the possibility of terrorist acts, and also the destruction of reactors in a conventional, non-nuclear war. In other words, any country with reactors situated above ground could find itself in the position of a nuclear hostage, which is utterly impermissible.

Those were my proposals. To my regret, they did not figure in the documents of the conference. But I still believe that they are of fundamental importance for ensuring the security of humanity.

New Times. One more question. Do you think that there will be a time in the foreseeable future when the politicians will heed the opinion of scientists more than they do today?

Andrei Sakharov. I hope so. I hope the opinion of scientists will be reckoned with. And not only with their conclusions but with public opinion in general.

In these matters scientists speak not only as professionals. In other words, I want to say that not only professionals should have the right to speak their minds here.

I, for instance, consider myself in some measure a professional, although with a 20-year gap in my record. However, what I as a professional know from the experience of past years is quite enough for me to be – how shall I put it – inwardly in a state of constant tension.

Interviewer Leonid RYZHKOV
DAGOMYS

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Contingency situation

The Soyuz TM-5 meets with a problem

We are accustomed to all our space programmes being successfully carried out, with the equipment functioning faultlessly. Space vehicles have begun to be regarded as just another version of an aircraft. But from time to time things happen that shake such established notions to their foundation and bring it home to us that practically all space flights are so far experimental, test flights, inevitably involving an element of risk. The last stage of the latest Soviet-Afghan space flight was one such warning against complacency, against taking things for granted.

Everything was going smoothly. The docking, the boarding of the Mir space station by Vladimir Lyakhov, Valery Polyakov and Abdul Ahad Mohmand, their meeting with the cosmonaut "old-timers" Vladimir Titov and Musa Manarov went with perfect precision, according to plan. The programme of Soviet scientific and technological experiments Shamshad had not only been fulfilled but overfulfilled. The Soviet-Afghan crew brought the Mir the "gift" of a medical researcher in the person of Valery Polyakov, and, leaving behind their Soyuz TM-6 transport vehicle, set out in the Soyuz TM-5, which had brought the Soviet-Bulgarian crew to the Mir station, on the return trip to Earth.

Everything proceeded normally until the time came to switch on the retro-engine, to make the nearly four-hundred-kilometre "drop" to Earth. It was at this point that the surprises began which caused many people on Earth to reach for their heart medicine.

In order to touch down in the pre-set area the spaceship must be in a definite position in relation to the Earth before its retro-engine is switched on. This point is determined by a sensor registering the infra-red radiation of the Earth. But should the sensor fail to register the exact perpendicular owing to the fluctuation of the borderline between light and shadow, the slanting rays of the sun, it will begin to give inaccurate information. That is what happened this time. Shifting to the reserve sensor, which automatically cuts in on the space vehicle's computer, did not help. The infra-red vertical was established but belatedly. This is where the first hitch occurred: instead of cancelling out the descent programme, it for some reason switched on the retro-engine. This occurred seven minutes after the pre-calculated time. The crew reacted correctly at once, and three seconds later, going over to manual control, countermanded the computer order because the ship would have come down far beyond the pre-set touch-down point and landed somewhere in China.

But hitches of this kind are essentially minor malfunctions. It was decided, after taking due precautions,to repeat the entire operation in order to land on the flat steppe terrain in Kazakhstan as planned. But, unfortunately, the second attempt also failed.

The retro-engine worked six seconds instead of the 230 necessary for the landing. The commander, Lyakhov, realizing that this was the last chance to land on the appointed day and not to put it off for another 24 hours, on his own responsibility switched on the computer to restart the retro-engine. This too did not work because the other onboard systems were not prepared for such a change in programme. The engine again stopped automatically inasmuch as the computer registered signs of a loss of stability.

The flight control centre postponed the landing for a day. Express analysis showed that for some reason the computer had not followed the descent programme recorded in its main memory but had drawn on a reserve rendezvous programme left over from the time of the docking of the Soviet-Bulgarian crew with the Mir station.

Lyakhov and Mohmand had no food with them, and their oxygen and water reserve was limited. The situation was alarming, although experts were confident that there were no serious technical malfunctions that could interfere with the landing. But who could be sure that the third attempt would not be attended by some other unpleasant hitches? That could end in tragedy. But the experts proved to be right. On the morning of September 7 the landing module of the Soyuz TM-5 came down successfully in the prescribed area near the town of Dzhezkazgan.

At the Baikonur cosmodrome, Lyakhov and Mohmand were given the traditional bread-and-salt welcome. But one could not help thinking how hard-won is the "bread" of space exploration.

Boris Konovalov

PRIVATE OPINION

Dr Bahawol Derwish, president-general of the central board for geodesy and cartography, Council of Ministers of Afghanistan

Cosmonauts Vladimir Lyakhov and Abdul Ahad Mohmand have landed safely having made us nervous during the last two days of their flight. All nine experiments which they had to carry out in space under the Shamshad programme have been successfully completed. Flying over my country, torn as it is by fratricidal war, the international crew did work for the sake of the future. We in Afghanistan are impatiently awaiting the day when we shall be able to begin to process the valuable data obtained from outer space. Our knowledge of our country will increase substantially. The photography, spectrometry and visual observation of mountainous and barely accessible regions of Afghanistan will prove beneficial to various branches of science and the economy, geology and agriculture in particular.

One other point is no less important. The successful completion of the space flight has furnished further proof of the friendly Afghan-Soviet ties originally established by Lenin and Amanullah Khan . The prestige of the Republic of Afghanistan has risen immeasurably. We have every ground to be proud that Afghanistan is the 20th country and the third Muslim state (after Syria and Saudi Arabia) whose citizens have been to outer space. The call for national reconciliation made from outer space is particularly dear and clear to millions of Afghans, who believe that peace and prosperity will come to their ancient and much-suffering land as well.

Nagorny Karabakh: the burden of problems – real and imaginary

In the autonomous region real socio-economic problems have assumed a character of conflict between nationalities

The events in the Nagorno-Karabakh autonomous region have had a deep imprint on the life of many people geographically fairly far from Nagorny Karabakh. Take if only Armenians who reside in other areas of Azerbaijan, or Azerbaijanians living in Armenia. Many of them became embroiled in the conflict or directly felt its effect. I am particularly concerned over the latter who became innocent victims of the feud.

I was received on Friday by Mir-Ismail Aliyev, the 46-year-old chairman of the Lenin District Executive Committee in Baku. Though it was not reception time, some visitors were sitting in his office and others were awaiting their turn in the lobby. I asked for permission to sit in on the interviews, since it transpired that they would be dealing with the issue of Azerbaijanians who had left Armenia in connection with the situation in Nagorny Karabakh.

The opposite direction

Their stories, as I saw, should be taken with a pinch of salt. It is suspicious that, aware that they can no longer live side by side with Armenians, they have made Baku their choice. Nowhere but Baku. No matter where they come from – town or country side, plains or mountainous regions – all of them want to live in Baku. This raises questions as to the authenticity of their stories along with insoluble problems for the Baku city council.

"In the city, 60 thousand families have been waiting for flats for as long as 18-20 years. Baku has long been overpopulated. The population has almost reached 2 million, more than the overall city development plan envisages for the year 2000. The social sphere is lagging behind the overall development plan. Baku has 11 districts. Our district alone had, as of July 1, 143 families from Armenia. By August 1 their number had dropped to 25. We managed to persuade the rest to go back, or sent them to live in Azerbaijan's rural areas," Mir-Ismail Aliyev commented on the situation.

But there must have been something after all that compelled these people to leave their homes, their jobs and their ancestors' graves. And it can hardly be attributed exclusively to rumours of the instigation of ill-wishers. These may have played a part, but there is more to it. One can lay the blame at their door as regards the decision of 28-year-old state farm mechanic Zakhid Gasanov from Razdan district in Armenia or Bilgul Babayeva from Amasy district. On account of their youth and the gullibility they could, to my mind, have made a spur-of-the-moment decision prompted by the circumstances.

But on their heels a tall man of about sixty years of age appeared in the office. He is Ali Aliyev, school director from Vardenis district in Armenia. Unlike the others he was not complaining of the past. He asked for his son and daughter to be able to live in Baku; as for himself, he was going back to Armenia where he had lived all his conscious life, had been a journalist and a party cadre, spoke Armenian fluently and also wrote properly in it. At first he refused to justify his reasons, but, yielding to my insistent questions he told us that his Armenian neighbours, who had formerly been respectful and friendly to him, now turned away from him, sales people in shops deliberately refused to take care of him, drivers refused to take Azerbaijanian children to school. "Life for Azerbaijanians in Armenia has become unbearable," he said reluctantly in the end. The great effort it took him to say it showed what deep and conflicting emotions were overwhelming him. His terse speech made a greater impression on me than all other long stories about real or imaginary troubles.

There are also people who travel in the opposite direction – Armenians leaving Azerbaijanian areas. There are now about five thousand of them in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Region alone. These include people of different kinds. Some of them, particularly those who have come from Sumgait, have indeed had to go through painful experiences, and their reluctance to return home can be appreciated. Others, not directly involved, have heard a lot of horror stories from others. But there are peole who in their behaviour are reminiscent of the school director.

True, even experienced people like him see things in the worst light, but the circumstances have indeed fostered such an interpretation. What is one to answer to one's children who will ask one day who and why, making current in peacetime the terrible word "refugees," tried to set them against each other.

Living well is living together

The district centre of Shaumyanovsk (in the Azerbaijanian S.S.R.) is equidistant from Baku and Yerevan, the distance either way being 360 kilometres. These are tied up by a bus route with a coach running along once a day.

Almost three quarters of the region's population are Armenians. For the first secretary of the local district Party committee, Rudolf Mirzoyev, who grew up in the mixed-population city of Baku in a mixed family (his father Armenian, mother Russian), this ethnic composition was nothing out of the ordinary. He perceived this in the only proper way as a reality that has to be taken into account. As we talked, he often answered telephone calls in Russian, Armenian or Azerbaijanian.

The district library has a good stock of books in all three languages, the relay station receives television broadcasts from Yerevan, and many other features in Shaumyanovsk are not regarded as exceptional. This is looked upon as a norm, – and that is most important.

And they regard the following as common place as well. Situated high in the mountains, the 26 Baku Commissars collective farm has made arrangements with the collective farm Shafag (Dawn) in the neighbouring purely Azerbaijanian Kasum-Izmailovsky district to allot each other 50 hectares of land. The mountain people obtained available land on the plain where early in July they harvested 40 metric centners of wheat per hectare (on the highland fields they would bring in at best half that figure and considerably later in the year), while the Dawn farmers had the use of the fine mountain pastures they badly need in summer time. For three years, in the light of the events around Nagorny Karabakh, this economically useful cooperation has been regarded as a fine example of brotherly relationship between the Armenian and Azerbaijanian peoples. They themselves take it entirely for granted.

"How did matters stand when the situation round Nagorny Karabkh became aggravated?"

I put this question to Sarmet Babayan, the young head of the 26 Baku Commissars collective farm.

"Our people worked down there as usual. They were given a hearty welcome and were not allowed to go home until they had shared meals with their hosts. Just to make sure, I went there every day and saw everything with my own eyes. There was absolutely nothing to darken our relations. It was pointless looking for anything.

"People do not care until misfortune comes. In the sphere of relations between nations we have, unfortunately, long lived according to this maxim. It is good therefore to talk of those who have done otherwise.

"By and large, I think we have not and cannot have problems with regard to relations between nationalities, let alone territorial issues. But miscalculations in socio-economic policy, and in our attitude to our history and cultural heritage, breed problems that are coloured by the conflicts between nationalities. This is exploited by dishonest, nationalistic people who try to add fuel to the fire. But they exploit the opportunities provided by our mistakes. So the only cure is not to make mistakes, and if they are made we should admit them and rectify them," says Rudolf Mirzoyev.

With an ethnic composition identical to that in Nagorny Karabakh, worse environmental conditions and lower living standards, Shaumyanovsk district has avoided the social crisis that beset Nagorny Karabakh.

"Whether we like it or not, we live together and will continue to do so. It is impossible to have a good, full life if one fences oneself off from other peoples. To live separately is to live badly; if people want to live well they should live together," is the opinion of Rudolf Mirzoyev.

In the Khanlar district bordering on Kirovabad, Azerbaijan's second city, there is the magnificent lake Gek-Gel, as well as other lakes less well-known but no less scenic. To be honest, I set out there guided by sheer curiosity, without any thought of writing about it. But on the way I met some people who had directly to do with the matter in hand. One was the director of the local reserve Mamedali Aliyev, the other was Arutyunyan, the director of a fishing farm. The former was an Azerbaijanian, the latter an Armenian. The farm's territory borders on the reserve, so Aliyev and Arutyunyan are neighbours. I saw them at the gates of the fish farm.

"What effect did the events round Nagorny Karabakh have on your relationship?" once again I asked this extremely unpleasant though necessary question.

M. Aliyev: "We are not only neighbours but brothers. No one can make us quarrel with each other."

D. Arutyunyan: "We both grew up on this land, we are both servants of mother nature, the most beautiful thing in the world. We have nothing to quarrel about."

I heard approximately the same from Armenians who live in Baku and elsewhere in Azerbaijan, barring Nagorny Karabakh. The hot heads in Stepanakert label as hostages those Armenians who live among Azerbaijanians and who are not going to leave their places. They have to act with an eye to the environment, allege the former. The number of such "hostages" is three times as many as the number of Armenians in Nagorny Karabakh. And since the events in Nagorny Karabakh have an effect on their life, at times cutting into its normal course, their opinion should also be taken into account.

In the highlight

The assessment of the situation in Nagorny Karabakh depends very much on who looks at it and from what viewpoint. From Moscow it looks one way, from Baku differently, from Yerevan differently again. This also goes for Nagorny Karabakh itself.

Armenians comprise three quarters of the population of the autonomous region. All Armenians I spoke to in Nagorny Karabakh are firmly in favour of leaving the Azerbaijanian S.S.R. and joining Armenia. Earlier almost the whole of the adult Armenian population of the region signed the appeal to the central government bodies with an identical demand. This is a factor to reckon with.

On the other hand, the Azerbaijanians who live in Nagorny Karabakh are equally unanimously in favour of the region remaining within Azerbaijan. They make up about a quarter of the population. The stand of the Azerbaijanian community should also be taken into account.

I have had the opportunity to read some recently published works by Armenian and Azerbaijanian historians in which they give a different treatment of the same historical facts, the same archaeological discovery. Basing their arguments on fairly authentic sources from the distant past, they draw conclusions on the burning issue of today – to which republic Nagorny Karabakh should belong. I doubt if this line of thinking will lead to the solution of the problem. Even if a body of competent independent specialists could work out a unanimous conclusion on a point of history, what would it change today? Would their conclusion be accepted by both peoples, one of which would be sure to feel its interests infringed on?

Late in August the Nagorno-Karabakh regional Soviet held a session to consider the implementation of the resolution of the CPSU Central Committee and the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers on the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Region and the tasks of the local Soviets in putting it into effect.

Most Azerbaijanian deputies for some reason or other did not take part in the session. The regional executive committee and the adjoining square were surrounded by cordons of police and soldiers. From the line of cordons the audible murmuring of the crowd could be heard in the hall, and sometimes the voice of the speaker was lost in the chorus from the outside chanting: Miatsum! Miatsum! (reunification with Armenia).

There are different points of view as to how justified the demands of the Armenian population of Nagorny Karabakh are and to what extent they should or should not be implemented. From a distance many think that all the disturbances stem from a handful of extremists, both local and sent in from Armenia. But this is not so. The main problem lies elsewhere, the point being that it is indeed a mass movement.

A conflict between nationalities flares

up quickly, but it takes time and great effort to put it out. I would like to state my general impression: the representatives of both sides, even the best of them, have begun to lose their sense of proportion. Any, even the slightest conflict, any publication in the press or any television programme are seen by them in the light of relations between nationalities. The same stories, the same jokes, the same grudges against each other. As a result, both peoples are developing "an enemy image" towards each other, the very thing we are abandoning in the international arena. The seeds of mutual mistrust, dislike and even hatred are being instilled in the souls of children and teenagers.

A couple of hours before I left Stepanakert, a young man came up to me in a café. He was the director of the town's young technicians station. When he found out that I was a journalist he checked my identification papers and said: "This is just to make sure. Some of you say one thing here but later you print a different story." I did not ask his name, but it would be easy to establish since there are only two young technicians stations in the town. Here is our conversation from memory.

"I am a committed internationalist but I don't trust Azerbaijanians."

"All or some of them?"

"All. If one comes near me I won't push him. But I don't want to live near him."

"But that's chauvinism."

"Well, then, in this respect I am a chauvinist."

I felt ashamed listening to that cultured-looking man who was to educate children's minds. I experienced the same feeling of shame when I heard similar talk from Azerbaijanians.

Unfortunately, this view, though sometimes not so explicit and frank, is shared by the majority of Armenians in Nagorny Karabakh. I judge by the encounters I have had personally and by other people's stories.

So we are to consider two points of view. First, Azerbaijanians and Armenians can and should live together and whatever stands in the way is temporary and can be eliminated. Second, there is between them the age-long antagonism based on religious and ethnic differences, and this can be only lessened but can never be put an end to.

To be honest, the second viewpoint seems to me not only logically deficient, leading to an impasse, but also that that cannot be accepted on moral grounds. Theorizing on the incompatibility of nations may lead to grave disasters.

In my opinion, a serious confusion of concepts has evolved in the mind of the people of Nagorny Karabakh. They take all the problems, the pressure of which they have to bear, as Baku's ill will. The hard hand of the command and bureaucratic system that nipped talents in the bud, bribery among office-holders, miscalcualtions in planning and supply policies, neglect to the social sphere have all fallen to the share of the population in Nagorny Karabakh but they saw all this in the light of the Azerbaijanian factor. The former leaders of Azerbaijan are guilty before the people of Nagorny Karabakh, but not only before them.

Whenever I talked of this in Stepanakert people hardly ever listened to me. Nice, well-mannered people turned into extremists the moment the conversation shifted to the relations between nationalities.

There are extremists among Azerbaijanians too with their principle of utmost simplicity blaming everything on Armenians.

Seeds of hatred grow into poisonous plants. Isn't the Sumgait tragedy a graphic example? Is there any guarantee that passions will not become enflamed again?

I doubt that those who are trying to indoctrinate mass consciousness with the "tit for tat" principle ever ask themselves about likely consequences. The bus windows are smashed. This or similar individual acts of hooliganism, later retold with improbable details, develop into so-called retaliatory actions on the part of people who consider themselves civilized. Their acts are often not directed against those who are guilty of the offence but against people of the other nationality who accidentally come their way.

Somewhere above I cited the school director: "Life for Azerbaijanians in Armenia has become unbearable." And in Stepanakert it is hard too. In Shusha, Nagorno-Karabakh's district centre with its predominantly Azerbaijanian population, it is becoming harder and harder to be Armenian. What are we heading for? Could it be for national segregation?

What is to begin with?

Arkady Volsky, representative of the CPSU Central Committee and the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Region, and his three assistants working from early morning till late at night without days off, are doing all they can to end the impasse based on emotions with regard to nationalities relations and looking at the issue from the angle of tackling the many concrete socio-economic problems facing the region.

Many of them are urgent though have been set on for years. Take, for example, providing Stepanakert with water supply and sewer systems. The kindergartens, hospitals, the regional Party committee and the hotel are supplied with water only early in the morning and late at night. Most of the time neither the water supply system nor the sewer system function. There are many cases of gastroenteritis. It would be no surprise if epidemics were to break out.

Rumours are spreading about the town that somebody has deliberately poisoned dairy products, vegetables, icecream. Indeed, none of these is offered in the shops. Are the rumours telling the truth? It occurs to no one to ask whether the individual instances of poisoning result from the violation of rudimentary hygenics principles because of water shortage.

The regional statistical board has summed up the results for the first half of 1988. It registered a sharp drop across the board as compared with indices for last year, when the level of socio-economic development in the region sparked off justified complaints from the population. Such is the result of the months of strikes. They have caused great damage to contractors outside Nagorny Karabakh, not to mention the population of the region proper.

So far the idea of "Miatsum" seems to make everyday hardships easier. Will it go on for long, I wonder. Moscow, Baku and Yerevan are giving a helping hand to the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Region. As yet, there are no tangible results, however. I think this is mainly so because many Karabakh people focus their attention on a political solution and cannot bring themselves to work hard. But without their effort it will cut no ice.

It is a good thing that the recent session of the regional Soviet has discussed these particular issues in a businesslike manner and outlined practical steps for their solution. This was the first thing to be done following the resolution of the CPSU Central Committee and the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers on the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Region of March 24, 1988.

Director of the local footwear factory Vasily Atadjanyan suggested that my notes on my visit to Nagorny Karabakh be entitled the Great Perception. He explained that he meant perception in the broadest sense of the word: the population of Nagorny Karabakh now believed that their interests were being considered seriously, that strikes and other forms of pressure on the government did not lead to the objective, but on the contrary put it off even farther, that the problem could not be solved on a nationalistic basis. Vasily Atadjanyan did not give me an interview; we merely talked strolling around Stepanakert one evening. I do not think he will hold it against me that I have made public the views he expressed in a private conversation.

To tell the truth, I have not seen many signs of the perception so far. Yet, the public consciousness of both peoples is coming to appreciate the truth that a genuinely national idea cannot be chauvinistic, infringing on the rights and dignity of other nations.

Alexander Guber

Brainwork and bureaucracy

Ekaterina Kozhukhova

At the recent session the science and technology commissions of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet stated that the gap by which our country lags behind world standards in the production and use of computers has reached a critical and strategically dangerous point. And this gap continues to widen.

During the discussions the deputies, all prominent scientists, attempted to analyze the reasons for this situation. But the chain of cause and effect defied explicit formulation, as in the English nursery rhyme:

For the want of a nail the shoe was lost,
For the want of a shoe the horse was lost,
For the want of a horse the rider was lost,
For the want of a rider the battle was lost,
For the want of a battle the kingdom was lost,
And all for want of horseshoenail.

The Ministry of Finance vetoes the gold essential for the functioning of certain mechanisms, chemists fail to produce ultra-pure materials, builders drag their feet... A breakthrough in computer development needs a real scientific and technological revolution. A real scientific and technological revolution is inconceivable, in its turn, without a revolution in electronics. What is to be done to break out of this vicious circle?

The deputies advanced various propositions: that they should at once review the status and structure of the recently established U.S.S.R. State Committee for Computing Technology and Information Science... That the research allocations in this field fall far short of its needs compared with the hundreds of millions of dollars spent by Western companies annually for the same purposes...

But even if the structure were to be updated and the allocations raised, would we obtain the desired result? Don't we know that billions of the nation's rubles could go down the drain? Don't we realize that the world's biggest army of scientists, largest number of hospital beds and largest number of doctors per head of the population are not a panacea; neither is our naive belief in the power of the quantitative factor. Don't we know that the creation of more executive structures will have no effect until we know the most important thing, how to build the bridge? Along or across the river? Until we are clear in our minds as to the main question: what effects of what causes are we going to eliminate?

Incidentally, at the meeting in the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet, an attempt was made in this direction by a deputy who asked rhetorically if our researchers had feeble brains or if our technologists were slower on the uptake than their Western counterparts. He wasn't too far wrong, I think.

It should suffice to refer to the history of genetics and cybernetics. It is useful to remember how research projects began in this field – only to be cut short, and to recall the circumstances of the establishment of the faculty of computing mathematics and cybernetics at Moscow State University and on the basis of what biographical factors the selection of the teaching staff was made. The late fifties and early sixties witnessed the manhandling of one Soviet scientist after another; the crushing of the nation's intellectual potential by the authoritarian rule which went by preconceived notions; the closure of many of the U.S.S.R. Academy's technical institutes; the clampdown on cybernetics.

All this should be recalled not only for the sake of historical truth but, above all, so that we realize clearly what is happening today, and appreciate that the crisis of science is not a bolt from the blue but a logical development, the result of grave deficiencies in the topsy-turvy system of values where there was no room for such things as intellect, talent, creativity...

How much do we appreciate all that today? How much do we realize that neither the habitual reliance on the destruction and subsequent organization of ever more executive structures, nor the creation of more and more "complex plans," nor even the timely and justified reliance on "a master ideology" will be able to rectify the situation in the field of science and intellectual work. For a healthier and more lively intellectual climate, we need something else, which can hardly be made to tally with the clauses in resolutions, a sort of "oxygen" in the atmosphere of public life, a favourable environment, real creative freedom, and that, in the final analysis, means much higher status backed by government and the Party for creative work and culture, "a cultural ideology," if you like.

Generally speaking, we are moving in this direction when we talk about humanizing all areas of life, all our politics, and when we proclaim the priority of humanitarian values.

Give full scope to scientific thought

We are putting these ideals into effect. Moscow has become a Mecca for all the thinking people. The major forums which we conduct at the top government level attract the world's best brains... Speaking in all fairness, they don't overshadow our intellectuals – scientists and artists – of the first order. But this is the top of "Mt. Olympus," so to say. In the down-to-earth reality we have other laws, other priorities, and other gods (often sham ones).

Will the high intellectual potential of our elitarian science ever spread to student auditoriums, research laboratories and academies? Will full scope be finally given for talent and competence? Will the administrators finally loosen their stranglehold on science and stop squandering our intellectual resources? The answers to these questions will decide the future of our science and technology – and our country's fate in general.

Judging by the discussion on the commissions of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet, however, we still have a long way to go, which cannot but give us cause for serious concern.

The line of beauty

Vladimir Dudintsev

I made my first ever trip to Paris recently, and I must confess that the great temple of culture did not disappoint me. Moreover, my short stay there gave me occasion to draw some comparisons, not just between artifacts, but also between nations and histories. It set me wondering why we are so slow to catch up culturally, and why we have been so ostentatiously contemptuous of culture for so long. This contempt has recoiled upon ourselves in the end. We are now minus many unique relics of Moscow's past – Kitaigorod (Chinatown), the Church of Christ the Saviour, the Sukharev Tower. The charm of our capital has gone, because so many of its houses have been pulled down or removed. Gorky Street has been widened, the "revolutionary" idea being to transform a mere street into an avenue, to straighten out a curve. However, it is curves, not straight lines, that make for beauty.

Starting in Moscow, the process of destruction began to gain in scale and spread to seas, rivers, woods and parks. Back home, with all these ideas on my mind, I turned on my TV set one night only to learn that in Kiev they were going to fell a hundred-year-old grove of ancient trees to make room for yet another architectural monstrosity such as an "agroindustrial centre" or similar nonsense. The news really brought home to me the importance of perestroika for the salvation of the country, the need to get to the bottom of, and expose all those destuctive transformation "schemes" spawned by the bureaucracy, civil servants in high places. So far we haven't succeeded in doing so. I'll try to explain why.

As for bureaucrats, they are always faced with the question "to be or not to be?" How can they possibly abandon the power and privileges they have misappropriated? Why, who would take over?

Who is a bureaucrat? How is he formed and how does his bureaucratic mode of thinking develop. I am convinced that any bureaucrat is totally devoid of talent. A gifted person – be he a writer, musician, world weightlifting champion, talented organizer, anyone – will never make a bureaucrat. Such a person is full of new ideas, and enjoys his creative work, which both earns him a living, and wins him universal love and respect. No author, for instance, can possibly relinquish the joy of writing, as I know from my own experience. I have written two novels, 20 years apart, which, I am glad to see, have gone down well with readers. On both occasions, their response was so gratifying that I'd rather die than disappoint them. I want their attitude to me to remain as it has been from the outset. I cherish their praise, which makes me feel that my work has caught their imagination, and I am determined to keep their high opinion of me.

What could compel me to be bureaucratic? I have neither experimented with myself to find this out, nor ever had a chance to try my hand at red tape. Therefore I'll use my imagination...

Someone decides to become a writer, for instance... He writes a story, and then hears on the grapevine that the story is "bad reading," "a failure," and stands no chance of being published... Then he starts currying favour with the administration at the Writers' Union, making certain gestures... In the end, he pushes his work into print. Nonetheless, all he hears is criticism. The author then starts flashing ingratiating smiles at reviewers wining and dining them, resorting to other stratagems... He cultivates failures like himself. "Look here, mate," he tells one of them, "your're coming up in the world; I hear they've elected you to some committee or other. Why don't you put in a word for me? Scratch my back, and I'll scratch yours some day when I'm lucky..." I was approached like that myself the other day. Someone I know came up to me and said: "You've made good, come on, say just a few words about me, don't you remember me praising you before? You are not grateful, you don't want to lift a finger to help me, you've forgotten all about me!" This, I believe, is how a writer not really worthy of the name becomes a literary bureaucrat. The same is true of bureaucrats in architecture who can't design good houses, and bureaucrats in science who are incapable of genuine discoveries. Such people want to enjoy all the good things of life, which they don't deserve, so they have recourse to devious methods. As for a gifted architect, he will not lose heart if his design is rejected. A word of praise from his friends is enough to confirm him in his confidence that he will make it in the end, that he has something in him not to be squandered on trifles. He is prepared to fight it out, and will under no circumstances make a deal with his conscience.

As for bureaucrats, they are always faced with the question "to be or not to be?" How can they possibly abandon the power and privileges they have misappropriated? Why, who would take over? Those scribes, until recent despised, who are now such a nuisance?

I think, therefore, that we are in for a tough fight, and should be on our guard. It should be borne in mind that evil masquerades as good, and cashes in on it. Don't we hear the bureaucrats cry today that they, and they alone, are upholding state interests? They give themselves away by doing so. After all, if you wish to build an office block instead of a grove, and if the grove is indeed of no use to the people, why all the fuss about this construction project being in the national interest? Go ahead, fell the trees and erect the block, nobody will mind, rather the contrary. But if you shout at the top of your voice that what you are about to do is in a good cause, people will smell a rat.

My position may appear to some as exaggerated, excessively vigilant, as it were. Actually, what I am after is realism as opposed to complacency and unthinking credulity, succumbing to which would be a crime, I think. Let me explain.

In my novel "White Coats" I dared imply that there is no need for blind faith. The novel says there are three kinds of attitudes to the present and the future. First, there is know-

ledge based on adequate and authentic grounds. I mean authentic enough to be above discredit or denial. This is real knowledge, an intelligent attitude to what we have now and to what's coming.

Second, there is hope. This is an attitude based on authentic but inadequate grounds. And third, there is credulity, which rests on inauthentic and inadequate grounds. It cancels itself out by its very nature. My characters say that the credulous are always looked on as donors – either of their faith, or of money... Or expected to sign something... For instance, after my novel "Not by Bread Alone" had come out, journalists would approach such unthinkingly credulous workers and say: "Look what Dudintsev has written... This bastard is painting our society completely black... Here, take a pen and a sheet of paper and write that you demand that he take off his dark glasses and stop denigrating us." "Got to wash my hands first," the worker would say, "they're greasy." "Well, I've written everything for you, just sign this. Just pick up this pen with your index finger and your thumb and sign your name. That's all."

The workers did sign their names, and their "letters" were made public.

This is a typical example of how men whose thinking is based on credulity or who simply take everything on trust, are prone to act. These are the very people the bureaucrats rely on for moral support. Well, who opposes the bureaucrats then? Intellectuals?

Before answering this question, let us make it clear what we really mean by "intellectuals." What we refer to as the intelligentsia today has not always been as it is now. Today it is something different under the same name. Our intellectuals are people who have been rushed through a course of higher education almost by force, who haven't quite shed certain complexes that a truly civilized person is free of, who are self–interested, cunning, and adaptable. This species of human has become quite common in this country. All for them are referred to as intellectuals because they sport designer–labelled suits. Many even wear suits "straight from Paris" and created by genuine and inspired artists. And a suit, as you know, is just a suit.

Previously, a member of the intelligentsia suspected of a dishonest act would commit suicide if he couldn't clear his name. If someone he had recommended for membership of the academy, was denied admission, he would walk out himself, banging the door behind him. Cultured intellectuals donated money to revolutionaries, translated and printed the works of Karl Marx, i.e., did a lot that mystifies modern historians and compels them to pass over these "extravagances" in bashful silence. For instance, why did Savva Morozov hide people wanted by the tsarist police? Why did another Morozov, Vicula, build at his own expense a children's hospital as large as a fair-sized town? Why did Tretyakov build up, also at his own expense, a collection of priceless pictures for the benefit of the people? Why did the Decembrists rebel against their class and lead their regiments into Senate Square? Those were special people.

Whoever said that the intelligentsia teaches the masses advanced ideas did not mean the present-day intelligentsia, of course. More often than not, today's "educated class" bewilders the masses and as a rule, lies to them. Let me explain for the benefit of those bogged down in formal bureaucratic classifications that I do not mean any specific stratum, estate or sociological category. My classification is based solely on people's personal qualities. Anyone – a worker, a scientist, a writer – can be either a bureaucrat, or a thinking intellectual. Therefore by an intellectual I do not necessarily mean an "intellectual worker"; rather, I mean a person who, whatever his profession, is capable of promulgating advanced ideas. In this particular case, these are the ideas of fighting evil, the idea of a better social structure.

So who can and must run society today? Whom can we trust to organize our lives? My answer to this question is: we can entrust this function not to a person of a specific social background (say, a worker, a peasant or an intellectual), but only to someone who has arrived at an outlook on life all his own. I shall now elaborate on that.

A parable in Ecclesiastes says that King Solomon possessed enormous wealth and could have anything he wanted for the asking. In his declining years he came to realize that his last resting place would be the same as his slaves' – the earth, and that the same worms would eat his and their bones alike. "I've had all that's worth having," King Solomon said, "but life has turned out to be vanity of vanities." However, there are things of greater value than creature comforts. I mean things spiritual.

He who is after spiritual values will never bite off more than he can chew

I am convinced that society can best be governed only by a person who treats all material values as this biblical king did, someone who begins to hunger for spiritual values, and tries to discover their meaning. Such a person will never accept a bribe. Money has lost all value to him, and the offer of it will only make him raise his eyebrows. He is past that stage, and feels relieved. Now he is after real joys, i.e. joys of the spirit. This is the right sort of person to run society. He will be happy. He will never bite off more than he can chew. Hoarding is alien to his nature, it is ancient history for him, and he is far ahead of his time. We used to have a lot of such people in Russia who despised transient material wealth and hankered after eternal spiritual values.

It is only those intellectuals whose philosophy and whose spiritual traditions turn them away from consumerism that can govern the state and teach advanced ideas to the masses. At one time we lost and even destroyed too many such people, while putting into circulation too many wrong ideas, erroneously named "materialistic," to be guided by in forming our attitudes and outlook on life.

It is necessary to revive the objective moral laws that govern each of us, and firmly establish them in our society. Talented people must be given every opportunity to learn these laws and use them without hindrance for the good of society. This is an objective really worth striving for.

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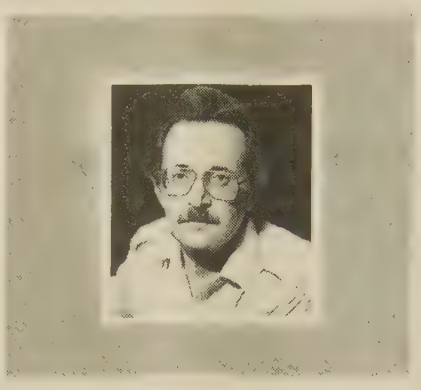
JUNIOR WORLD



The art of waste

Two arts are essential to any economy: the art of earning money and the art of spending it. Our economy is finding it so hard to escape from stagnation because we all earn very little, and our government ministries are spending what we earn incompetently, so incompetently in fact that the proverbial saved copeck, rather than turning into a saved ruble, often leads to the squandering of hundreds of rubles.

This is especially apparent in our spending on education.

According to the U.S. News and World Report, both contenders for the Presidency of the United States have made spending on education an election issue and both have supported educational institutions. In a campaign speech, George Bush said, among other things: "Good education is good policy... In the years ahead, education can be our most powerful economic programme... The best investment we can make is in our children." Michael Dukakis has made similar statements. The U.S. News and World Report recalls that every dollar invested in education saves five.

But, alas, we are poor, and poverty is a vice where the economy is concerned. Food and health care were given the top priority at one of the commissions of the recent 19th National CPSU Conference. Education was not on the short list. That is the price we have to pay for the years of stagnation. The rich always get richer and the poor get poorer because the poor have no way of investing in the long-term future and have to live it off, as the Hungarian writer Cyula Fekete points out in Inostrannaya Literature Nos 5 and 6 for this year.

But if we are short of funds, there is all the more reason for being cleverer about spending them.

Some day high schools will probably be paid for every school leaver who has done well in college entrance exams or on the shopfloor and will thus have their own earned funds to draw on. At the moment, however, public education does not earn a living. In public education the art of spending money prevails.

Almost every big investment in education in recent decades has been wasteful. No returns have been recorded and investments have merely led to greater stagnation and a decline in educational standards.

For many years large sums of money have been spent on a huge network of evening schools which, as it turned out, very few people attended. In real life there were two students per class and the statistical reports were pure fiction. Two hundred years ago the nation was amazed by Subaltern Kizhe, who existed only on paper, and very recently the likes of him were proliferating at a rate of hundreds of thousands. Students entered in school records for the sake of statistics and reporting never turned up in the classroom. They even never turned up at exit exams and did not even claim their certificates of secondary education. The teachers had to seek them out and present the certificates to them because, according to the standing procedure, the recipient of a certificate must sign a receipt. This is indeed an amazing country where a disabled person would not have his food delivered to his home, but certificates worth thousands of rubles are delivered to the homes of those who don't seem to want them. I know of a nightmarish incident in which a lady teacher brought a certificate to a fictitious student, or rather school leaver, who flew into rage and hurled it at her.

Our money was squandered on that farce, but none of the squanderers has been punished, and even the civil servants at the ministries who presided over these malpractices have retained their posts.

Another squandering spree came with the campaign to invest money in school equipment. Huge funds were invested and honorary titles conferred on teachers with very poor qualifications, competitions were announced for the best-equipped classroom and sadistic (no other word would do) inspections of "teachers' work places" were aranged. What a mad waste of funds and nervous energy! Schools do need classrooms for the teaching of physics, chemistry and biology, but there has not been a single piece of evidence to date that converting all classrooms into laboratories has improved the educational standards of school students by a point. On the contrary, children now display less attachment to school, as they wander about their schools like vagrants. There is no way of installing desks corresponding to the varying heights of the pupils in these laboratory classrooms, which makes them deleterious to the health of the children. But money continues to be wasted.

Now, what about the educational version of the Baikal-Amur railway, mandatory vocational training at every high school, now finally abandoned?

A large part of the grim record of waste is accounted for by the money allocated to the Academy of Pedagogical Sciences, the money thrown to the winds. The early reports about the restructuring of the Academy can cause only one reaction: disappointment. It was decided for some reason that restructuring should be conducted here in the shortest possible time, about a month. As a result, the departments at the Academy got new names and Academician-Secretaries were given the titles of Vice-Presidents, but little else changed. Is there a way to put an end to squandering here?

Now, if we are short of funds, where should we be investing what we have? The answer to that one is that we must invest, above all, in the teacher, in books for the teacher, in seminars and centres for training in pedagogical innovation, in people capable of teaching the teacher to teach well. All other spending is ruinous for the schools and the country.

Simon Soloveichik

Is it easy to help the young?

The International Youth Problems Discussion Club, set up in Sofia late last year, recently met in Moscow. What follows is an interview with Ventsel Raichev, co-chairman of the Club, and Editor-in-Chief of the newspaper Sofia News and the magazine Bulgaria.

What is the background to the club? What purposes does it serve?

What started us thinking about it was the large number of letters we get from young people. In our paper we first gave over a special page to the problems of the young. At a get-together with staff writers of your magazine Yunost, it turned out that Bulgarian and Soviet young people have many problems in common. Then the question arose: do we really understand our young people and their preoccupations? So we decided to open this discussion club. By "we" I mean, on the Soviet side, Andrei Dementyev, Editor-in-Chief of Yunost; the sociologist Igor Kon; writer Leonid Zhukhovitsky; Mikhail Khromakov, head of Yunost's social and political department; Vladimir Milyutenko, Deputy Chairman of the Board of the Novosti Press Agency; and, on the Bulgarian side, the sociologist Maria Dinkova; the journalist Igor Alter; the psychiatrist Filip Lazarov; the juventologist Pyotr Mitev, Chairman of the Juventology section of the World Sociological Association; and myself. Andrei Bundzhulov, First Secretary of the Dimitrov Young Communist League, is also a member of our club.

Incidentally, the club accepts only individuals, not organizations. Andrei Bundzhulov, for instance, is listed as a sociologist. Among the experts on youth problems from the Soviet Union, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and Denmark to attend the Moscow session of the club there were writers, physicians, film makers, dramatists and journalists writing on social and political subjects.

What in fact does the club do?

Generally speaking, we discuss youth problems in various forms besides reports and debates. At the Sofia meeting, for example, we spent only two days out of five hearing reports and comparing notes. For the rest of the time we met with various youth groups. One of our "visiting sessions" was held in a drug addiction clinic where we talked with doctors and their patients. An exchange of views in a secondary school specializing in teaching ancient languages proved most interesting and instructive, to my mind. The school is attended by capable senior-formers. We asked some Bulgarian rockers, punks and heavy-metal fans over, too, and they did turn up. Frankly, we had been apprehensive lest they should feel rather awkward in the company of their "square" coevals, but nothing of the sort happened: the informals, as we call them, were even more active and outspoken. At the Moscow meeting, we had one of our "Youth and Crime" sessions at the Mozhaisk borstal. By the way, the session was covered by some Western TV companies, whose correspondents had previously had no chance of visiting such places.

Could you mention some of the problems characteristic of Bulgarian youth?

I could start with exotic ones, such as drug addiction or prostitution. These problems do exist, but they are not very widely-spread in our country. I think material security and occupational guidance are really among the more topical problems affecting the young. In Bulgaria, 80 per cent of young people under thirty cannot do without their parents' financial support. Fifty per cent of those between 30 and 35 are in the same position. To think that a man in his thirties lives off his parents and, what's worse, takes it for granted!

Don't you think that cost-accounting, which is now being introduced in Bulgaria, will put young people who haven't yet attained high enough professional standards at a disadvantage? Will this situation give them an additonal incentive to go to college?

Frankly, higher education had, until recently, a stronger appeal to parents than to their children. In Bulgaria, a college diploma used to earn one a salary a third or even a quarter of a skilled worker's wage. This is not merely unfair, it is a scandal, really. This year, however, in Bulgaria we have got down to the introduction of a new pay system which, I think, is more in keeping with the demands of the scientific and technological revolution. The new system sets no "ceiling" to your earnings; you are free to earn as much as you can. Under the circumstances, the starting wage of a person with no higher education is much lower than that of a college graduate.

Another noteworthy economic mechanism has been introduced here. A factory pays the state a tax on each worker. The size of the tax depends on where the factory is located.

Don't you think we've gone off at a tangent a bit?

Only at first glance. All these things have a direct bearing on youth problems. What's the work force tax? It is a measure supposed to keep labour in a given locality. In Sofia, for instance, the tax amounts to over 600 leva a year per worker. Consequently, a factory employing 1,000 workers has to shell out 600,000 leva a year. If the factory's output is low, it can't guarantee its workers high wages. In the provinces, this tax is only 100 leva, consequently wages are higher. This will presumably compel young people to think twice before they decide to move to the capital.

But now wait a minute, all this sounds so good it's music even to my own ears. So far this system is in its formative stage. Whether it works only time will tell. It would be appropriate to mention a very important thing in this context, I think. While admitting the objective nature of economic laws, we often impose restrictions on them and interfere with their operation. We are hardly justified in doing so.

It might look to you as if I've digressed from the subject again. Actually, I haven't, because we are apt to do the same in our relations with young people whose problems – I mean "informal" youth organizations, in particular – we haven't quite sorted out yet. All too often we exercise our authority, and apply formal yardsticks to young people's behavior. For instance, an unusual hair style is sometimes regarded as breaking a taboo. And it's wrong to break taboos. Why, for heavens' sake? After all, perestroika is a solid violation of the taboos that have caused our society to stagnate for years.

This brings me to our club's programme.It's useless to lecture young people, and it makes no sense to moan about their faults, real or imaginary. Didacticism has never done anyone any good. As we define the gist of the problems, we shall instead appeal to adults. Any sensible ideas to be born in the club will certainly be made public.

Interviewer

Boris Balkarei

Pyongyang's arguments

Albert Pin

Only the carefully restored fortress gates and summer houses with their multitiered tiled roofs remind the visitor today that Pyongyang is an ancient city. The capital of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea was burned down almost completely in the fierce war that lasted over three years. Some 430,000 bombs were dropped by American planes on the city - more than one per every resident.

This summer marked the 35th anniversary of the armistice in Korea. A few days ago the Democratic People's Republic of Korea observed the 40th anniversary of its proclamation. Upwards of 300 delegates from 120 countries had arrived in Pyongyang for the celebrations. I had chanced to visit the city shortly before the celebrations and can easily imagine what the hosts showed or could show their foreign guests.

First of all they took them round the capital, which has risen from ruins and ashes. They showed them its broad avenues, squares and underground stations, many of which, I must admit, rival underground stations in Moscow. Pyongyang can boast of its numerous museums, theatres, palaces of culture and sports and residential quarters with their 20- to 40-storey buildings. Looking at these high-rise blocks of flats and comparing them with the modest three- to five-storey houses built in the early postwar years, one can imagine distinctly how the republic's potential has grown.

Here is a single fact that especially struck me. Not long ago the Koryo Hotel – two 45-storey light-brown towers rising side by side – was erected in the capital. The hotel, where only foreigners check in, remains the tallest and most impressive building in the city so far. But only so far, because an 105-storey hotel (the only one in the world, incidentally) is already under construction. Delegates to the 13th World Youth and Student Festival, to be held in Pyongyang next summer, will be able to view the city from that dizzy height.

People's Korea at close quarters

The hosts show off to their guests, with understandable pride, impressive buildings and monuments reflecting the spirit and signs of the times, the atmosphere in which the Koreans are living. The capital is, so to say, the republic's shopwindow and largest city, with a population today of more than two million. Building Pyongyang is a matter of priority. People from every province are joining building teams for work on important construction projects, voluntarily transmitting part of their wages for the erection of top-priority projects and sending food to the builders. A great deal of work on building sites is being done by soldiers.

Of course, guests who arrive in Pyongyang for only the few days of celebrations do not see the everyday work of the people, their daily concerns and problems, which include the food problem, as food is still rationed in the country. The common slogan of Koreans is: "Eight hours of work, eight hours of study, and eight hours of recreation." This explains why one sees few people in the streets, either by day or in the evening.

Road traffic is not heavy. One can only travel from place to place either on business or with a special permit, which is explained by the situation on the divided peninsula. Two rows of barbed wire stretch along the coast of the Sea of Japan.

Korea is a small country. It takes only a few hours to travel from Pyongyang to the 38th parallel. However, for over 35 years people living in the north have known nothing of their relatives in the south. Thousands of families are divided. Peace on the peninsula has not triumphed, and tension remains. The prime cause of tension is the presence of American troops with nuclear weapons in South Korea.

I think the road to the peaceful reunification of the country, which the Korean people dream of, will probably be long and hard. Pyongyang's arguments are quite specific. It is firmly convinced that the danger of war could be removed and tension eased through the conclusion of a peace treaty between the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the United States, a declaration of non-aggression between North and South, the withdrawal of American troops with their nuclear weapons from South Korea, and a substantial phased reduction of armed forces both North and South.

Kim Il Sung spoke of this again at a meeting devoted to the 40th anniversary of the proclamation of North Korea as a democratic people's republic. He declared his support for the active promotion of contacts and negotiations between North and South with the participation not only of leaders but of all political parties, public organizations and various strata of the population. A top priority task of such a broad dialogue would be the formation of a confederative government of the reunified state with the preservation of the separate systems now existing in its two parts.

The Soviet Union welcomes Pyongyang's constructive initiatives aimed at a relaxation of tension in the peninsula and the region and the establishment of an inter-Korean dialogue. It was once again stressed at the celebrations in Pyongyang that Moscow is giving every support to these efforts on the part of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

This year all of us have witnessed how the tight knots of seemingly insoluble problems have been unravelled, though not yet completely, thanks to the new political thinking. Let us hope that the policy of national reconciliation will also pave the way for this in the Korean Peninsula.

Perestroika Chinese style

Evgeny Bazhanov

People's China has renounced "barracks-type communism." The Thirteenth Congress of the Chinese Communist Party held last autumn set the long-term goal of "creating a viable socialist political system with a highly developed democracy, law and order and high efficiency." What prompted the need for political restructuring?

To answer this question, one has to look at China's past... For more than two millennia China was ruled by a feudal monarchy. Emperors died or were dethroned, dynasties went into decline but the system of government and ideology, the social classes and their position remained unchanged. Europe had already entered the era of mature capitalism, but China still lived according to ancient law. True, the once unshakable feudal edifice showed signs of cracking. In the middle of the 19th century the Chinese Empire was invaded by foreign capitalists who tore apart the country's social fabric. China was reduced to the status of a semi-colony, and the ruling Qing dynasty began to lose its grip on the country. In 1911, the revolution swept the emperor away and created a republic. But this brought little change to the semifeudal and semicolonial character of Chinese society. The country was rent by contradictions.

Victories and errors

In that complex and dramatic period the Communists moved to the centre of the stage. Founded in Shanghai in the summer of 1921, the Communist Party gradually won over the working people. The struggle against the Japanese aggression (1937-45) allowed the CPC to reach the grassroots, and lead the people in defeating the pro-Western regime of the Guomindang party in the Civil War (1945-49).

As the state grew stronger and the economy improved (in 1953-56 industrial output increased at an average rate of 19 per cent a year) the Chinese leadership set its sights still higher. Radical measures were proclaimed in 1958. In industry, there was to be a "great leap froward" – a massive drive to develop production through the widescale use of cottage industries and manual labour. In agriculture, peasants were brought into "communes," with even household utensils made common property. The results proved disastrous – the national economy split at the seams and the country was stricken with famine.

In the early 1960s the experiments were abandoned and a more moderate and realistic economic strategy prevailed. But leftism came back with a vengeance in 1965, when the country was plunged into the infamous "cultural revolution." Under the slogan of the class struggle, a campaign of slander and repression was unloosed against party and economic leaders, military commanders, intellectuals, workers, civil servants and peasants. Reasonable economic management methods, the poetry of Pushkin, the doctrine of modern organization of the armed forces, and folk customs were all made taboo.

Later the economic policy of the late 1950s was to be described in China as "left-wing deviationist error" and the "cultural revolution" as "a time of troubles that did grave damage to the party, the state and the whole multinational people," the "dictatorship of a rotten and abhorrent fascism with an admixture of feudalism" (Renmin ribao).

What lies behind these phenomena? Let us proceed from the assessments given inside China in recent years. Let it be said from the outset that in our opinion, many of the errors committed there in the process of building the foundations of a socialist society are not confined to China. They are characteristic of other socialist countries, that is to say, they do not occur by chance. They were objectively built into the model of socialism adopted by most of the socialist world. It is no secret that that model took shape in the Soviet Union, and that its experience was in one way or other borrowed by other countries embarking on the construction of a new society. This happened at a time when Lenin's plan for building socialism had already been gravely distorted. The flaws of Stalinism transplanted to other soils produced evil offshoots.

Two main causes of the abuses and distortions are singled out in China. First, lack of democracy, and second, poor grasp of Marxism and the laws of de-

A marketplace at Canton

Photo from Kvety (Czechoslovakia)

velopment of a socialist society. From the outset, decisions were made by a narrow circle of people who were effectively unaccountable and acted solely on the basis of their own views and ideas. Gradually even this practice was abandoned as all power was concentrated in the hands of a single man – Mao Zedong. The Mao Zedong personality cult emerged. Deng Xiaoping has explained that the party's failure to create a viable political system was responsible for all the distortions and abuses. If a system is basically sound, the Chinese leader pointed out, it restricts the actions of bad elements, and in the absence of a sound basis, the system may impede the efforts of decent people and even push them in the wrong direction. The aim, according to Deng Xiaoping, is clear and simple – to let the people run the state. The leaders must truly be the servants of the people and not imagine themselves to be its masters.

The undemocratic system flourished due to the low cultural level of the Chinese population (the majority of which was illiterate) and the deeply entrenched despotism, bureaucracy and traditions of feudal society. Chinese had not known the rule of law for centuries. The emperor was seen as a representative of heaven on earth whom everybody should obey unquestioningly. Absolute power was never challenged. The omnipotence of bureaucrats was taken for granted. What they did for the populace was presented as bounty. The people's needs, however, were not the rulers' main concern. The success of a dynasty was judged not by what it had done to develop the country's productive forces, but by its ability to enforce obedience from its subjects and maintain "order" in the empire. Bureaucrats were anxious to please their superiors and did not care what the common people thought of them. Nepotism, bribe taking and embezzlement flourished in the ruling class. This, too, was the norm. The lower orders tried to keep a safe distance from the authorities.

Some features of the political system were of more recent provenance. The revolution had taken the form of a protracted guerrilla war. The army had effectively merged with the party, and the CPC had become used to military methods.

As regards the poor grasp of Marxist doctrine, it is now admitted in China that this doctrine was not perceived creatively but subjectively, and was divorced from real life. Some theoretical propositions contained in the works of the founders of Marxism were interpreted dogmatically or erroneously. Fallacious principles were put into practice.

The victorious Communist Party went about creating the socialist mode of production in accordance with its understanding of Marxism and of what the people wanted. In revolutionary fervour, everything associated with the abhorrent ancient regime was swept aside. Objective economic laws were ignored. There was a feeling that communism could be built overnight through sheer enthusiasm. This approach did not work, which created social tension. Discontent was suppressed by force. The idea of socialist society as a society of free and conscious citizens working together was transformed into the concept of "barracks-type communism."

Political arbitrariness found particularly fertile soil in China. Take the "great leap forward." China was a great and ancient state with a very backward economy. Breaking out of the state of backwardness and regaining its world stature was the dream of all Chinese. People were anxious to see this happen at once. That the "great leap" relied on the use of manual labour is not surprising either. Hundreds of millions of working hands is China's main resource. Mao Zedong had put his personal stamp on the interpretation of Marxism. His world view, Chinese experts now tell us, was greatly influenced by traditional Chinese culture, including the ancient social utopias. The ideological distortions were aggravated by the rivalry between the Chinese Communist Party and the CPSU which developed in the 1960s.

The line of the Third Party Plenum

The CPC Third Plenum of the 11th convocation held in December 1978 marked a turning point in China's recent history. The essence of the new line that prevailed at the plenum can be reduced to two points: first, to concentrate the party's efforts on the economic front and the modernization of the country, and, second, to work out a realistic programme for the building of socialism. The plenum called for a fearless departure from dogmatic Marxism and the erroneous views that passed for Marxism. Renmin ribao stressed that Marxism contained "nothing that was sacred or untouchable, that could not be altered and removed altogether; the sole criterion of truth is practice."

Everything that did not favour the development of productive forces was described as contradicting scientific socialism and as intolerable. It was de-

U.S.S.R.-CHINA

Negotiations continue

When the first round of the Soviet-Chinese political consultations took place in 1982, few imagined what a long, uphill process it would be to bring the bilateral relationships back to normal.

In line with a mutual understanding, these consultations held in camera alternately in Peking and Moscow are as a rule a week or a fortnight long, and are conducted at deputy foreign minister level.

Though in the six years since then no information as to the content of the talks has been made available, judging from the observations of diplomats and comments in the media, one can form an idea as to how far the two sides have gone towards meeting each other halfway and which issues remain outstanding.

"In his interview for the journal Liaowang, the Soviet leader (Mikhail Gorbachev – Ed.) said a summit meeting could logically ensue from the political dialogue," the Bulgarian newspaper Rabotnichesko Delo observed. "The Chinese are still advancing preconditions for such a meeting, but these have already been reduced to the sole demand to have Vietnamese troops pulled out of Kampuchea. Without arguing how appropriate preconditions are in this particular case for high-level contacts, the more so as these preconditions relate to the intentions and actions of a third sovereign state, one can say that even so progress is observable."

At the end of last month a Soviet-Chinese working meeting on Kampuchea took place in Peking. The two sides have assessed its results as follows:

"The working meeting showed that both the U.S.S.R. and China have a stake in the earliest possible fair and just settlement of the regional conflict around Kampuchea on the basis of balanced mutual interests. The understanding has been reached that our two countries can facilitate in practice an adjustment of the external aspects of the Kampuchean problem, whereas the Khmers themselves can cope with the internal aspects."

(Igor Rogachev, Deputy U.S.S.R. Minister of Foreign Affairs)

"The meeting revealed certain points of contact in the positions of the two sides. Our two countries share a common desire to have the Kampuchean problem resolved as soon as possible."

(Qian Qichen, P.R.C. Minister of Foreign Affairs)

clared that a new society could only be built on the basis of material needs and benefits and that neglecting these constituted "idealism." Encouraging people to get rich by their own labour, wrote the newspaper Guangming ribao, has become "the basic principle and basic position of the CPC." Peking has become aware of the need for broader cooperation with the outside world.

In keeping with its new ideological and theoretical platform, the Chinese leadership has stopped giving prominence to the class struggle inside the country and the world, renounced forced discipline, mass drives, shake-ups and purges, wage levelling and so on. The "cultural revolution," the "great leap forward" and other leftist experiments of the past have been condemned without any qualifying "buts." Cooperative, individual and private sectors in the economy have been allowed to function, and such levers as profit, competition, cost accounting and rent have been pressed into service. The country is inviting foreign investment and expertise.

At the same time it was pointed out that economic reform should go hand in hand with change in the "forms of government and ideology." It was argued that the existing party and government system has become the main obstacle to the development of productive forces. Over-concentration of power, authoritarianism and bureaucracy had stifled the economy and any grassroots initiative aimed at improving or modifying it. The Chinese press has come out for the separation of party, government and economic functions and for "separating the CPC from state power."

The new economic and political strategy has met with heavy going because of the errors, the magnitude of the problems, differences in approaches and resistance to reform. The line of the Third Plenum was not hailed unanimously in China. It was criticized from both the left and the right.

Getting rid of ideological clichés

What is the essence of the criticism? Let us take the leftist sentiments first. The sentiments are deeply ingrained. This is understandable. Slogans that appear utopian today were once ideals for which people struggled and died. The revolutionaries rejected the old China, the Guomindang system with its glaring social inequalities, exploitation, coercive labour, the sway of the landowners, the shenanigans of traders and corrupt officialdom. They destroyed the past, dreaming of a totally new and just society of equal citizens.

It was a ruthless, bloody struggle, and when victory was at last won, it was hard to take stock calmly and decide which parts of the old order should be cast aside and which should be preserved in keeping with objective social laws, real conditions in China, and just plain common sense. The hated past that had caused so much suffering and pain was smashed indiscriminately. There was a desire to get rid of greedy merchants, to give to everyone according to his needs, and to share the public wealth equally. There was an eagerness to expropriate factories from their owners and give them to the state, which represented the whole people. There was an impatience to stamp out the property instinct, even at the level of everyday life.

One could understand the long-suffering people who readily responded to such slogans and calls. Not only did they respond, but they promoted these slogans by their efforts. This line was gradually consolidated and became the norm in ideology, politics, economic and social life. This was the only socialism people knew. All the rest was revisionism or capitalism, and was to be reviled, exposed and destroyed. During the "cultural revolution" those who earned more, were more intelligent, ambitious or more concerned with work than with public rallies were hounded, while equality, poverty, conformity and blind obedience to "revolutionary orders" were encouraged.

It sounds naive? Yes, if one applies today's yardstick. But think of the many similar features in the revolutionary history of this country. The same battles, marches and drives for harvests and steel, for "full equality" and "unshakable unity," and general obedience to the leader. If you look at other revolutionary societies you find the same phenomena there. Such experiments generated a lot of enthusiasm among radicals and liberals in the West and in the developing world. The "cultural revolution" was extolled by protesters against Washington's aggression in Vietnam, and by the rebellious students in Paris. The methods of the Hongweibings were adopted by left-wing extremists in Japan and the F.R.G., Peru and Finland. Hollywood star Shirley MacLaine admired them (whether sincerely or otherwise, I do not know). The "cultural revolution" was seen as a manifestation of the spirit of rebellion, an attempt to get rid of all the moral ills and vices eroding modern society, to create a new "pure life for pure people."

The Chinese themselves, it would seem, should not fall easy prey to such illusions. After all, they experienced this "revolution" at fisrt hand. And yet, things are not all that simple. Let us not forget that the "cultural revolution" had its organizers. Their leaders have been punished and even jailed, but not all of them. The Chinese press carries more and more reports of people who perpetrated outrages in the "decade of troubles" (the current designation of the "cultural revolution") and have kept their political positions. Rank-and-file Hongweibings are also not to be discarded. To be sure, they are not to blame – the young men and women were deceived and made do dirty work by the adults. The trouble is that many former Hongweibings bear a grudge against society. Modernization calls for knowledge and skills and they have neither. Instead of studying and mastering trades, the young people of the late 1960s were staging pogroms. The "lost generation" finds it hard to adapt to the new look of China of the 1980s.

The largest group of people are those who cannot shed ideological clichés. The Chinese press admits that many people still equate socialism with poverty and centralized planning and a market economy with capitalism. They have yet to understand that to enter communism it is not enough to change the form of property, that just proclaiming a new system in a backward country is not enough to be able to catch up quickly with the advanced capitalist states. There are those who question the contract system in agriculture and say it is incompatible with Marxism-Leninism. There is still the tenacious myth that a new type of relations among people based on unity and mutual aid can be formed immediately after the exploiting classes are liquidated. These sentiments and the opposition to reforms are fuelled by inflation, the slow growth of incomes among some sections of the population and some negative social phenomena in contemporary China. These people do not understand that all problems cannot be resolved in one fell swoop.

(To be continued)

Don't spill the syrup!

From time to time an amiable creature appears on Cuban television screens, looking exactly like our own cartoon character Cheburashka, and says: "Ahorra!", the Spanish for economize. This is a word much used in Cuba this year which has been proclaimed "Año del Ahorro" (economy year).

I recalled the appeal of the Cuban Cheburashka as I was driving to the Province of Pinar del Rio along a coastal highway at the height of the sugarcane harvesting season. A wall of sugarcane lined one side of the highway, and trucks piled with it were driving down to storage facilities one after another. That vivid image of abundance created a pleasant atmosphere, which was, however, marred by the crushed sugarcane strewn across the camber of the highway. One sugarcane stalk is equivalent to two glasses of syrup or a glass of granulated sugar. Sugarcane can be used to produce alcohol, the liquid fertilizer furfurol, plywood for the manufacture of furniture, paper and fodder. Both leaves and finely ground stalks are used as excellent fodder for cattle. Cuba grows millons of tons of sugarcane every year, and when droughts hit pastures, sugarcane is the only fodder available. It also has many other uses.

A recent international conference on sugarcane production in Havana showed the scale of various sugarcane projects in Cuba and the country's considerable lead over other tropical countries in the production of paper and fodder from sugar cane.

Austerity measures

Compressed sugarcane stalks, known as "bagazo", can also be used in one other way, which is worth discussing separately. Sugar refineries are the main consumer of energy in the country and they need a lot of fuel. There is little fossile fuel in Cuba. The country has to import oil, which is still expensive despite the recent fall in world market prices. In the past sugar refineries burned wood, and as a result there are practically no forests left in the country, which at one time was overgrown with woods. Now refineries have switched over to compressed sugarcane stalks, which today account for 30 per cent of the country's fuel balance. But nevertheless sugar producers have to burn a million tons of oil, roughly the domestic output, because the amount of bagazo available does not stretch to cover the final stage of sugar refining. Some refineries have, however, introduced technologies that enable them to sustain operation using bagazo alone. Cuba's thrifty technologists have come up with many original ideas, and it must be said that they are appropriately encouraged.

One of the principle objectives of the policy of "ahorro" is to save energy and energy products. The National Energy Commission, formed 5 years ago, is drawing up energy-saving recommendations for the government and has them carried out. Manuel Aguilera, secretary-general of the commission, explained the ramified and complex overseeing system it uses. The commission has representatives and inspectors stationed in various ministries and factories in all provinces and municipal districts. They are assisted by two thousand social workers each of whom is given three weeks' leave from his place of work to conduct inspections. Sanctions are introduced against those who waste energy. Their names are published in the papers. Offenders pay five time more for the energy they overconsume, and sometimes have their electricity cut off so that damage to the economy as a whole can be ruled out.

Miguel Aguilera told me that inspectors can impose fines on offending managers, and that other ways of discouraging the wasting of energy are being considered at the moment.

The Cubans believe that the G.D.R. is the leader in energy saving in the socialist community, and they have been borrowing East German expertise and providing appropriate incentives at home. Conferences on power engineering are held regularly in the country in order to discuss the current situation, to pool experience and commend the thriftiest energy users. Recently 60 more prizes were allocated, among them 15 cars. One car went to a pensioner in the Province of Villa Clara. He had designed an efficient burner for paraffin, which is widely used in the catering industry and hospitals in Cuba. The new burner saves up to 30 per cent of fuel and the prize was well earned. According to Miguel Aguilera, 80 per cent of the energy-saving devices and technologies invented in Cuba are put to practical use, but the Commission intends to raise the figure to a hundred per cent.

A highly efficient incentive is at work in Cuba to encourage the saving of oil. Oil is shipped to Cuba from the Soviet Union at considerable expense. According to Miguel Aguilera, our two countries have struck a deal under which the oil unclaimed from the amount prescribed in the contract is compensated for by the payment of a corresponding sum in hard currency into the Cuban National Bank. This enables the Cuban government to encourage energy saving in industry by giving hard currency to factories that do particularly well in this respect, to buy still more efficient equipment on. This leads to a chain reaction of energy saving.

I asked Miguel Aguilera whether TV ads, posters and the campaign in the press were effective. He said there were added incentives to saving energy in household use, or rather disincentives to wasting energy. For instance, household electricity rates have been increased from 6.5 centavos to 9. The most important thing is that industry has been geared to manufacturing energy-saving household appliances, and Cuba's foreign-trade agencies have been geared to importing them.

"Equipment installed in homes and factories is of crucial importance. As from this year," Miguel Aguilera says, "we are paying special attention to the technology of combustion, which converts two thirds of the country's energy resources to various uses. The industrialized capitalist countries have upgraded combustion technology and obtained a saving of 10-15 per cent. We are out to achieve the same result."

The inventor from Villa Clara Province has demonstrated that Cuba has considerable opportunities here and their implications are not just technological. The National Energy Commission is pressing

or greater use of nuclear power and for more nuclear power plants to follow the plant under construction with Soviet assistance near Cienfuegos. The commission wants the thermal power stations now under construction to be the last in the country.

Tight control

This does not mean, however, that the new thermal power stations are considered a thing of the past or that their introduction will run counter to the policy of ahorro. Special measures are being introduced at them to prevent the wasting of a single calory. At a thermal plant in Matanzas Province commissioned this year, staff has been cut from the requisite 531 to 249 in the spirit of ahorro. This is an important initiative, as overblown staffs are a serious problem for the Cuban economy. The situation in which the Cuban economy found itself at the end of last year makes it imperative that all waste be ruled out.

A wide range of products can be derived from the rational use of sugarcane, among them fodder, building materials, paper, chemical raw materials, and, of course, sweets for children.

Photo by Osvaldo Salas (Cuba)

According to statistics, the production of goods declined by 3.2 per cent, or half a billion pesos, in 1987. The tendency of managers to increase labour personnel accounted for a 4-per-cent decline in productivity, and, correspondingly, in the average wages. As a result, everyone in the country feels that the economic situation is in need of improvement and the policy of ahorro is justified.

Thrift is inconceivable without accounting. Rodrigo Garcia, chairman of the State Committee for Finance, blamed the problems facing the country in recent years on the lack of proper control over material, monetary and manpower resources, resulting in waste. An inspection of resource-management procedures revealed shortfalls at half the country's enterprises. There is no monitoring of the fuel consumption of 90 per cent of the cars owned by the Ministry of Basic Industries. Unaccounted-for assets have been found at storage facilities. Rodrigo Garcia told me that the failure to account for the country's assets leads to a great deal of waste. Jaime Lozano, a worker at the Friendship of Peoples sugarcane refinery, gave this example of lack of control. He said that for many years he has been receiving materials without invoices. His comrade, truck driver Feliciano Pepin, added that over the past three years he has never handled any documents concerning the amount, nature or price of the materials he trucked. When he reaches his destination he simply reports the amount of materials he has brought and his words have to be taken for granted because he is never provided with any papers. Lozano and Pepin were giving evidence to an investigator enquiring into a cement theft case (incidentally, cement is in short supply).

Law enforcement agencies also contribute to accounting for resources and managing them. Production norms are being reviewed throughout the country because, as the newspaper Trabajadores points out, 80 per cent of them were compiled without a careful analysis of work practices. A national inventorizing process is under way in Cuba, and the resources revealed are sold to the State Committee for Material and Technical Supplies.

Rodrigo Garcia said that this year his committee will be introducing a radical reform in order to define the personal liability of those responsible for resources, introduce a procedure whereby those receiving goods and materials must insist on measuring and weighing the amounts they receive and establish strict discipline with regard to access to storage facilities in order to rule out pilfering.

Very often these measures bring immediate and conspicuous results. After appropriate measures were introduced at the Habana Libre hotel, for instance, losses of sets of tableware fell from 600 to 60 a month, and far fewer bottles were reported broken. In industrial plants, the results are slower in coming, as one might expect.

The assets revealed while the inventory of storage capacity was being made help resolve another very important problem. The economic problems that came to face the country last year were caused by the changes in currency exchange rates, among other factors, and as a result, Cuba lost a fifth of its currency earnings and could not afford to purchase the parts and materials it needed. Some small factories had to close down. It is therefore an important objective of the policy of ahorro to economize on currency and reduce imports of fuel and spare parts.

A youth fair was held in Havana in the spring. Young inventors displayed seven thousand products previously purchased abroad in spite of the fact that they can be produced in Cuba. Orders for them were immediately placed with various industries. Youth R&D teams are at the moment introducing 11 thousand types of spare components. The older generation is keeping pace with them. In December, the 4th National Conference on Spare Parts will be held to sum up the inventors' efforts. The press and public in Cuba are closely following progress in this area.

Cuba's policy of ahorro is considered an important part of the process of correcting mistakes and negative trends.

Vitaly Sobolev
our own correspondent

HAVANA

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Guardians of mankind

A V.I. Vernadsky Ecology and Coevolution Problems Centre attached to the U.S.S.R. Commission for UNESCO Affairs has been set up in the U.S.S.R. Professor **Askold SILIN,** Dr Tech. Sc., one of the Centre's founders, describes the institution's objectives.

Professor, we have recently marked the 125th anniversary of Academician Vernadsky's birth. How would you account for today's rise in the popularity of a scientist who has been dead for many years?

Vladimir Vernadsky was an outstanding scientist who supported the materialist philosophy. It is now universally recognized. However, his unique role in the perception of the ways civilization can take is, unfortunately, insufficiently well known. Vernadsky's philosophical works have only recently become generally available. Earlier they were hindered by the power of ossified stereotypes, dogmatism and pedantry in the social sciences. His creative legacy, brilliant, versatile and bearing the imprint of his personality, was emphatically unwelcome. Astonishing as it may seem, his teaching was even labelled a "neo-religious philosophical outlook."

Vernadsky was not only an outstanding naturalist but also a prominent public figure. And his activity in this field came up against serious obstacles. During the period of the personality cult they dared not lay hands on this scientist of worldwide repute, but many of his works never developed much beyond diary notes. Only now when we read Vernadsky's diaries can we see how accurately he perceived the tragic role of Stalinism both for the future of science and the country as a whole. The inability of science to develop freely under cruel authoritarian rule, the pernicious effect of uniform approaches and viewpoints in the absence of democracy, were what Vernadsky was writing about. Now we see how correct he was. The years of the personality cult and stagnation impoverished our natural sciences and reduced our social sciences to confusion.

The centre, an organization of a new type, bases the main lines of its activity on Vernadsky's theory that the biosphere will inevitably transform into the noosphere.

Could you give some more details about the essence of this theory?

Vernadsky maintained that at a certain phase in mankind's development the forces of the human intellect develop into a geological factor. That means that human intellectual activity becomes a geological or, if you like, cosmic phenomenon comparable in scale with natural phenomena, for example, volcanic eruptions, with increasingly powerful effects on these phenomena. The human being penetrates all areas of the biosphere and all natural elements. His intellect becomes a force that transforms the world. And unless this force is given moral and social support and placed under a system of control it could come into conflict with the environment and destroy man himself.

Where is the way out then?

According to Vernadsky, human beings, the intelligent beings, should learn to think on a global scale. They should come to appreciate the fact that the planet falls to the share of all and is very vulnerable. Thus, global thinking rests on the principle of the fundamental unity of man and nature. This is how, Vernadsky believed, the transition to the noosphere is effected ("noos" means intellect or mind in Greek) when man is consciously able to exert an influence on evolution. Mankind sees itself as a single entity both internally and in its relationship with the environment. Man becomes aware that nature does not have to be curbed by force because we are an integral part of it. People begin to look for harmony with the environment. They become united in these attempts on the basis of global ethics. This unity is achieved through the intensive exchange of information, and the worldwide propagation of scientific ideas, concepts, projects and hypotheses. All this is filtered through the common moral entity – the human conscience.

It sounds very attractive. But is it true?

Vernadsky's theory is neither religious nor idealistic. In fact it is a scientifically based practical development of Marx's idea that the science of man and natural science are bound to merge. We now see that Vernadsky's amazing predictions are coming true. They are borne out by discoveries in the field of biophysics and cosmophysics, and the fact that some countries have entered "the Information Age" with its computerization and robots. No, in no sense was Vernadsky a dreamer or an idealist. To believe so is a great delusion. He came close to solving the greatest mystery of nature – the mystery of the way in which matter spontaneously evolves increasingly complex forms. What is the origin of that mysterious organizing force that enables matter in the process of spontaneous evolution to create first a living entity and then to develop this entity into the most sophisticated of known systems – man? Today the answer to this question is given by synergetics, one of the newly developed sciences. It not only embraces physical systems, but attempts, and not without success, to trace the development of socio-economic systems. Vernadsky can by rights be considered the forerunner of synergetics.

So far you have been talking of "pure science." Does anything of the kind happen in your practical work?

I will cite the following example. Recently Ireland hosted a conference on the development of global communication systems as a basis for world peace and cooperation. All the delegates' speeches were pervaded, as it were, by Vernadsky's idea that the humanitarian efforts of the whole of mankind are bound to merge. At this conference, the issue was a global satellite communications system equipped with fiber-optic channels which utilize a bundle of thin ultratransparent glass threads carrying information through a laser beam. The traffic capacity of these channels is much higher than in ordinary telephone and telegraph cables. This is concrete confirmation of the fact that the foremost achievements in science and technology have a practical application in implementing the ideas of human integration.

Professor, can the establishment of the centre also be regarded in itself as a confirmation of Vernadsky's idea of the inevitability of global thinking and the unity of all people on Earth for the sake of common goals?

All this is certainly true, though we are still only at the beginning. Under the aegis of our centre, we combine efforts by a wide variety of specialists including naturalists, engineers, humanists and cultural workers who are going to work together on a common ideological platform. And this again is based on Vernadsky's theory of the natural historical

inevitability of transformation to the noosphere. The term coevolution, suggested by Academician Nikolai Moiseyev, in itself means the unity in the development of man and nature.

What is it then that binds us all? The work of the centre embraces problems that have a bearing on the population of the whole planet. Everyone wants to drink pure water, breathe clear air, and live under a peaceful sky. This is the feature that unites us all regardless of national, religious, political or other aspirations.

What concrete problems will you be considering?

First and foremost, we are interested in ecological problems and the health care issues that are closely related to them, as well as in problems of education, international cooperation and many others. We will be elaborating practical recommendations on how to resolve such pressing questions. Among other things, the dangerous thinning of the ozone layer, AIDS, and environment protection, are problems with which we are dealing today.

And one more, very important, I think, aspect in the work of the centre. This relates to analyzing the causes that can effect the escalation of regional conflicts beyond a certain critical limit at which arresting the chain reaction that has been triggered off becomes improbable. In this event, the ensuing developments could threaten the existence of our entire civilization... In short, it is necessary to predict whether a local seat of tension can suddenly set the whole world ablaze. We should all realize today that to safeguard peace in our time, it is not enough to carry out propaganda work just by marching, campaigning and appealing for peace, though all this is certainly important in itself. One should also, and Vernadsky called for this, use strictly scientific methods relying on the entire might of the natural sciences and technology.

But history teaches us that these can be used against people. And here, perhaps, one encounters the question of the responsibility of the scientist for the future of the world...

Well aware of this, Vernadsky wrote of the moral responsibility of scientists for the use of scientific discoveries, and proposed the foundation of a "Scientific International" which would integrate scientists in this spirit. The scientist should clearly realize the consequences of his activities and be a highly moral person. This is a major question. As early as this autumn, together with the Soviet Peace Committee, we intend to hold a seminar on global ethics. We would like to invite our noted scientists and writers.

Is there, in your opinion, a field of science today where moral issues are especially acute?

I think in genetic engineering. On the one hand, it provides man with unlimited opportunities and enables him to return to God, grow new kinds of plant and new species of animal. On the other, it is fraught with the danger of facilitating unknown organisms against which human beings have no immunity since nature has made no provision for it! Imagine what would happen if "the creator" were an immoral, irresponsible person?...

Professor, are there any similar institutions in other countries?

Certainly. At the conference in Ireland I was much impressed by the report of Professor Alexander King – the president and cofounder of the Club of Rome. This non-government organization has been in existence for as many as twenty years and unites scientists in a wide variety of disciplines, all of them tackling global problems. Expert assessments and forecasts made by the Club of Rome have great authority worldwide. The Club has no budget of its own nor has it any permanent sponsors, hence its complete independence of any official institutions, and freedom to state independent views proceeding from the interests of the whole of mankind rather than reflecting the outlook of specific, political groupings.

"This place has been visited..." – the autograph of an ecological illiterate

Drawing by Flisak (Poland)

Such organizational principles, perhaps, should underlie the structure of our new centre, which is just beginning to take shape and work out rules for its work.

I think they should. The centre's executive body will be as small as possible, scientists and other specialists working without pay. Nor should there be, in my opinion, a permament financial source to provide for various undertakings – the aid will be given from time to time by different departments and organizations such as the Soviet Peace Committee, the Ministry of Public Health and the Ministry of Culture and by different publishing houses – each according to its speciality. What usually happens? Our managers and bureaucrats act according to the principle known from history – "I am the state." In fact, however, they are defending their own narrow interests. Such bureaucrats fall far short of global thinking... We, on the other hand, as an independent institution, analyze the problem as a whole from the point of view of all peoples and the whole of the Earth. If we see (after serious consideration certainly) that the consequences could be pernicious we shall ring the alarm, and address the government or UNESCO. I do not think it would be a great exaggeration to call such centres "guardians of mankind."

We should expand ties with our counterparts abroad – the Club of Rome and its national associations, which exist in almost twenty countries of the world. They have accumulated a great deal of experience. Unfortunately, we lag behind in this field as well...

Professor, what else does the centre plan to do?

We shall support the space monitoring programme for technological activities and natural processes. Its aim is the prevention of irreversible, ecologically hazardous consequences ensuing from intervention in nature.

We shall promote and disseminate the publication of works by outstanding scientists and public figures on global matters. We hope to help implement bold new projects which are as yet slow in gaining ground, and to work for the establishment of Vernadsky prizes and grants. We would like, finally, to restore the house in Zubovskaya Square in Moscow where Vernadsky frequently stayed for many years and organize a museum there. The house belongs to the Academy of Sciences, which, frankly, has let the building fall into complete disrepair...

Interviewer

T. Chernova

Mongchon dream and reality

Vitaly Ignatenko,
our special correspondent

Tiger cub – the mascot of the Seoul Olympics

The ancient city of Seoul is presenting itself to the world as neat and trim. And how can it be otherwise? The South Korean capital is preparing for an invasion of millions of people. Television will start to broadcast the opening of the 1988 Olympics on September 17, at 10:30 a.m. local time.

The panorama of Seoul on that September day is sure to strike many visitors as exotic. This is particularly true of people from the Soviet Union, other socialist and some developing countries which have no diplomatic relations with South Korea. For decades there have been no links with the country. Students battling police was just about all that reached our television screens. To be sure, these battles are very real and deserve the prominence they are given in the media. But when the smoke from the tear gas canisters settled after the riots the cameras might have shown that there is something more to the city.

One senses at once that Seoul has been busy giving itself a face-lift. The city fathers have spent almost a quarter of a billion dollars cleaning up the Han River, whose clear waters now reflect the downtown high-rises and the Olympic buildings in the suburbs. The pavements have been washed and scrubbed and thousands of new lamp posts have been put up in the streets... It has been announced that the authorities have ordered that the work of all industries situated near the sites of competitions be stopped or drastically reduced to minimize air pollution.

It would be naive to think that the Olympic Games are seen here simply as a major sporting event. The Olympics are a matter of national prestige. The news media constantly remind the hosts that their mission is to present their country in the most favourable light.

One can understand South Korea's desire to use the Olympics to boost its international prestige, end its prolonged period of isolation and initiate contacts with the socialist world... There are signs of the coming Olympics everywhere in South Korea. The five rings – the Olympic symbol – are all over the place. All government offices and many shops and businesses have got themselves special clocks counting down the remaining days and hours until the opening of the Games. The responsibility for organizing such a mammoth affair as the Olympics is enormous, as I know from my own experience. But you cannot help raising an eyebrow when you read in underground trains that these are to be "the best games" and the South Koreans are "the best people." The slogans strike me as too arrogant and somewhat lacking in self-deprecation... "This is not Odessa," remarked the comedian Gennady Khazanov, one of the team of Soviet artistes to go to the Olympics.

South of the 38th parallel

This is the second time the Olympic Games will have been held in Asia.

Until recently the suggestion that Seoul could host the 24th Olympic Games would have been shrugged off.

Three cities contended for the right to host the 1988 Summer Olympics: Nagoya, Seoul and Teheran. Teheran pulled out even before the International Olympic Committee discussed the candidacies – in 1981 it had substantial reasons for doing so. Problems arose in Nagoya too. It turned out that its citizens were less than enthusiastic about the initiative of the city fathers and Japan's Olympic Committee. Nagoya had neither the facilities nor the money to host the Olympics.

With a massive advertising campaign mounted by American TV companies and private business in other Western countries in favour of Seoul, and with powerful U.S. support, the South Korean capital looked to be a sure winner. At the session of the International Olympic Committee in Baden-Baden, 52 of the 81 IOC members voted for Seoul. I remember that on that September day seven years ago when the Olympic community made its decision the question that was in the air was will Soviet athletes go to Seoul.

At the time, the same question could have been addressed to other nations too. The IOC's choice of Seoul met with a mixed response worldwide. The results

of the voting created a difficult situation for the Olympic movement, and the danger of a split loomed again. The Western mass media hailed the new Olympic capital. The socialist countries and some developing nations were critical of the decision, citing the political instability in Seoul and the volatile situation in South Korea as a whole. The Democratic People's Republic of Korea had special misgivings. The D.P.R.K. opposed Seoul's candidacy from the outset. Pyongyang repeatedly stated that the holding of the major international sporting event in the South would ultimately have the effect of perpetuating the division of the country.

The D.P.R.K. proposed that North and South co-host the 24th Olympics. This proposal was discussed during a series of talks held in Lausanne, Switzerland, between the presidents of the North and South Korean Olympic Committees with the participation of Juan Antonio Samaranch, President of the International Olympic Committee. However, the negotiations were not crowned with success.

The Olympics stayed south of the 38th parallel.

Seven years after the IOC voted in Baden-Baden, the world has changed. The 23rd Olympics in Los Angeles and everything connected with them have become history – dramatic and sad history.

Today we see the world situation improving, due not least to the normalization of Soviet-American relations. Major arms control agreements have emerged from Soviet-American summits. Day after day has brought evidence of new developments and growing international cooperation in the field of economy, science, culture and sport. All this has raised hopes that the trend towards an improved political climate will continue and that by the time of the Seoul Olympics the situation will be favourable. However, the hosts and the Olympic community alike are worried about the possibility of student riots or other internal "typhoons" during the Olympics.

The Soviet decision to take part was made in January, long before the opening ceremony of the Games in Seoul. In making that decision this country proceeded from the Olympic Charter and the fact that the Olympic movement serves the humanitarian goal of bringing countries and peoples closer together and promoting mutual understanding and cooperation among the young people of the world. The National Committees of 161 countries agreed to send their teams to Seoul. This is a record number.

The Olympic flame started on its way in Greece

Among the countries that will take part in the Games, 36 have no diplomatic relations with South Korea. This is in itself no mean achievement.

By agreement with the South Korean government, a temporary Soviet Consulate will be opened for the period of the Games. It will cooperate with the South Korean authorities on all matters concerning the stay of Soviet citizens in that country. The Finnish embassy in South Korea has agreed to act as an intermediary.

The D.P.R.K. and Cuba have refused to take part, and the Olympic Committees of Albania, Ethiopia, Nicaragua and the Seychelles did not apply.

From Honda to Hyundai

I am aware that a sports report should not deal with South Korea's economic situation. But, as the Olympics have focussed attention on the country, readers might like to know what sort of country it is that has already spent more than 3 billion dollars preparing for the Games and seems ready to spend that more to make the Games a success.

Our reference books and atlases still occasionally refer to the country as "backward and agrarian." Perhaps all these publications date from the fifties. Be that as it may, it is not often that we in this country hear that South Korea has long been among the world's top twenty industrial nations. It ranks fourteenth in the output of steel, tenth in electronics, fourth in television sets, and second in shipbuilding. The country's economic growth rate registered an impressive 12 per cent last year. In 1987, South Korea produced 970,000 cars and reported rapid growth in the chemical and electronics industries. Textiles have become the chief export item. South Korea's consumer goods have broken into markets in Asia and Western Europe and have quietly entered the U.S. market. Today the contribution of electronics, electrical equipment and sea-going ships to the economy is increasing. The Japanese were shocked to discover that South Korean Hyundai cars are successfully competing with the famous Hondas, Toyotas and Nissans in the United States.

I suspect, however, that the South Korean invasion will soon be ruthlessly ckecked by the allies as they wake up to this situation. In all likelihood South Korea will be forced to increase its imports. It will be made to open its market to West European and American goods. However, it will be some time before South Korea, where smoking foreign cigarettes is frowned on as unpatriotic, will offer most-favoured-nation treatment to foreign interests. Tough economic battles lie ahead.

The world press has now been writing about the "South Korean boom" for several years. Figures are cited to explain the sources of the economic leap, and the system of education and computerization of labour are being closely studied. Some attribute the boom to competent management and a highly skilled work force coupled with low wages and the longest working week in the world (54 hours). For instance, the law makes no provision against children under 13 putting in 42 hours a week! Besides, South Korea has enjoyed access to high technology and massive U.S. aid.

Many economists believe, however, that the boom may yet prove to be a nine-day wonder. To support their claim they cite the country's dependence on world markets, the depletion of cheap raw materials and the rising cost of labour... They draw attention to the huge national debt (about 40 billion dollars, the fourth largest in the world), social tensions, protectionism by partners, the burden of military spending (6 per cent of the GNP) and so on.

Soviet journalists, political scientists and economists have never been to South Korea before. It is only in the last year that my colleagues have paid occasional visits to Seoul in connection with the forthcoming Olympics. That is why our press has often relied on testimony from foreign journalists. I for one would like to quote Giovanni Porzio from the Milan paper Panorama. He writes that one thing local businessmen refuse to admit is that the miracle with the trade mark "Made in South Korea" is based on a ruthless exploitation of manpower comparable only to the semi-slave labour in some countries in the Caribbean and South-East Asia. Koreans' addiction to work is usually attributed here to the ingrained Confucian ethic, obedience to authorities, loyalty to the boss, sense of discipline and desire to succeed. He adds that all this is only partly true, that the Koreans' attitude to work and to factories is the result of the social shifts of recent years. Millions of peasants who have migrated to the cities (Seoul's population has increased from 1.5 million to 10-12 million in two decades) were faced with a choice, he goes on, either to return to their villages to eke out a meagre existence or bow their heads and agree to sweated labour on any terms in the hope that one fine day they would be able to buy their own houses and send their children to university.

Soviet journalists have yet to discover South Korea with all its minuses and pluses, problems and prospects.

The Seoul Olympics provide an excellent opportunity for doing so.

Security is regarded as No. 1 problem here

Around the park

After brief stopovers in Khabarovsk, Aeroflot's IL-62 charter planes landed in Seoul. They were ordinary planes, but the attention they attracted might have suggested that the hosts were greeting not the Soviet Olympic team, but the crew of the Challenger space shuttle, making a forced landing.

We got our accommodation at the Olympic Park, once the site of a fortress. There are still some ancient royal graves on the compound. The present name of the park is Mongchon, which means "the village of dreams."

This is an appropriate name for an Olympic village which will house 12,000 athletes and an as yet unknown number of coaches, doctors, nutritionists, masseurs and all the others who have come here to win (or at least to take part, which is the main thing, according to the Olympic Charter). Let them rest and have sweet dreams. Until the Olympics open, everyone can dream of becoming a champion. That is what makes Olympics so exciting.

It took 19 months to build the Olympic

village. Situated in the southeastern part of the Olympic Park, the village has 122 buildings (from six to 24 storeys high) and from a distance looks like a giant bamboo thicket. In fact, there are two villages, one for the athletes, coaches and officials, and the other for journalists. All in all, there are 5,540 flats of eight different types. In the middle of the village there is a café that seats 4,000, a bank, a shop, a post office and a discotheque.

Let us take a walk around Mongchon. A press card does not open all doors. Here and there you run into people guarding the peace of the athletes. A casual onlooker would put their number at several hundred. But we were told that 120,000 armymen and police were taking care of security. Security arrangements need not unduly concern us, as long as there is security. But these Olympics are different.

It is asserted or hinted at that the Olympics will be a target for terrorism. Those who say so cite the Americans. Early this year the U.S. administration planned a full-scale show of military strength in and around South Korea in order to prevent possible terrorist actions or attacks during the Olympics, wrote The New York Times in its issue for February 7. Journalists were reminded that the United States has 40,000 troops in South Korea and has a mutual security agreement with that country. If South Korea is attacked, the U.S. is under an obligation to come to its aid.

Gradually more details emerged. About 47,000 American servicemen, including 20,000 Marines, are stationed in Japan. It is envisaged that one, possibly two, aircraft carriers, each with 6-10 support ships, will be off the South Korean coast during the Olympic Games. More war planes will come from Japan to join those already stationed in South Korea. Also standing by will be the Marine landing battalions on Okinawa, which often accompany aircraft carriers.

These manoeuvres were planned long in advance and code-named "Team Spirit." (The Pentagon might well call this year's manoeuvres the "Olympic exercise.") Visiting Seoul in the summer, U.S. Defence Secretary Frank Carlucci referred to the Olympics. With a soldier's bluntness he said: "North Korea is now trying to deny the Republic of Korea of the opportunity to demonstrate its success to the world during the upcoming Olympics. Let me assure you that we will do all we can to help ensure the security of the 1988 Summer Olympic Games."

This then is the American game plan. In addition, AWACS planes will be in the sky over the Olympic capital. And there are other developments worthy of note.

It has been decided that henceforth North Korea will be officially referred to as "The Democratic People's Republic of Korea" at international conferences. South Korean representatives at international conferences will no longer walk out when the National Anthem of the D.P.R.K. is played and its national flag raised. South Korea will invite representatives of the D.P.R.K. to its events and send its own representatives to events staged in the D.P.R.K. The South Korean administration has decided to stop broadcasting criticism of the D.P.R.K. over the South Korean broadcasting corporation and through the loudspeaker on the demarcation line.

First results, latest forecasts

The coming Olympic Games have a special singificance for the history of the Olympic movement because the two previous Olympics were truncated. In 1980 the Moscow Games were boycotted by the U.S.A. and its partners. Athletes from the U.S.S.R. and some other countries stayed away from the Los Angeles Games in 1984. For the first time since 1976 the athletes of the world will gather together.

Events will be held in 23 disciplines with 237 sets of medals to be competed for. Among the new events in the Seoul calendar will be table and lawn tennis. Two of the world's top tennis players – Stefan Edberg and Mats Wilander have agreed to take part in the Olympics.

The IOC has completed its meetings (traditionally, the IOC discusses major issues on the eve of the Olympics). New members have been elected to it. In addition to Vitaly Smirnov, who has ably represented our country on the IOC executive for many years and served as its vice-president, there will now be another Soviet representative. He is Marat Gramov, President of the Soviet Olympic Committee and Chairman of the U.S.S.R. State Committee for Physical Culture and Sports. Marat Gramov was elected unanimously on the eve of the 24th Olympics at the IOC session in Seoul. He is known for his contribution to sport in this country and for the organization of the 1980 Olympic Games in Moscow.

We talked to Marat Gramov at the Soviet team's headquarters in the Olympic village. The head of the Soviet delegation said:

"Our delegation includes 520 athletes, some 150 coaches, doctors, masseurs, technical staff, as well as interpreters. Everyone will have a job to do.

"The competitions in the run-up to the Olympics revealed so many new talents that it is a safe bet that competition will be tougher than at any previous Olympics. And the results of world championships in recent years show that the number of countries which have outstanding athletes in various disciplines is constantly growing.

"The main contenders, I think, will be the U.S.S.R., the U.S.A. and the G.D.R. The F.R.G., Bulgaria, Romania, China and other countries have strong teams too. No country is expected to win more than 50 gold medals. We have good chances in Graeco-Roman and free-style wrestling, gymnastics, track-and-field, marksmanship, water polo, and some other sports."

SEOUL,

September 13

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"The efforts of ecologists against pesticides seem to be beginning to pay off, as next year their import into the U.S.S.R. is to be halved," says Prof. **Alexei Yablokov,** Corresponding Member of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences, one of the chief opponents of the use in farming of these hazards to human health.

The 55-year-old zoologist, who heads a laboratory at the Koltsov Institute of Developmental Biology, is known not only as an energetic natural scientist who has produced a number of books on the subject, but also as a vigorous poublic figure opposed to ecologically dangerous technologies, including inefficient water management and reclamation.

"I had as one of my teachers that fine scientist Nikolai Timofeyev-Resovsky, with whom I had the good fortune to collaborate on a book entitled 'A Short Outline of the Theory of Evolution,'" Prof. Yablokov notes.

Asked what qualities he though definitive for imparting authority to today's scientist, the professor said:

"I think one can acquire authority only at the frontiers of science, inasmuch as it is important and fascinating to do what nobody has done before. As for prestige with one's colleagues, that is a sine qua non in appealing to the public at large for support in the effort to conserve nature and have its riches put to rational use."

* * *

Viewers seem to have diametrically opposite views of the programmes compered by **Tamara Maximova.** Though she gets both flowers and brickbats, nonetheless every programme she produces with her husband Vladimir, a leading Leningrad TV director, is watched. Most Soviet televiewers know their programme Music Ring, while their other programmes are seen only by viewers who can tune in to Leningrad TV.

"We try to make all our programmes into a kind of game," she says. "Incidentally, we were among the first to go on 'live'". Tamara and Vladimir joined Leningrad TV when both were a mere fifteen years old, Tamara as a "girl correspondent," Vladimir as a scene shifter. The many programmes they have produced since then include the Amber Key, a TV game for the Baltic capitals and Leningrad, a kind of TV bridge between Vilnius, Riga and Tallinn that continues, though no longer with them, the series Businessmen's Games, Telemessenger and Facing the City. They have spent years and energy galore teaching audiences to contribute to live debates.

They are currently negotiating a Music Ring programme between the two Leningrad singers Alexander Rosenbaum, who says he cannot spend a week outside his home city, and ex-Leningrader Villy Tokarev, who is now resident in the U.S.

Incidentally, Tamara thinks Soviet television should be radically overhauled. "We must experiment in the modelling of programmes," she says. "We should have people working on programmes as engineers and designers do on various industrial projects, as then we would avoid the overlapping which is such a headache in Soviet television."

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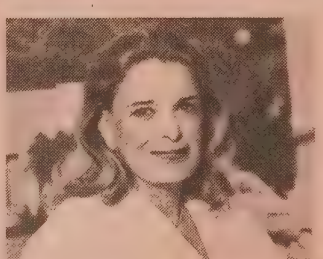
ATHENS LIKELY VENUE FOR '96 OLYMPICS

Melina Mercouri, Greek Minister of Culture, has proposed holding the 26th Olympiad in Greece in 1996.

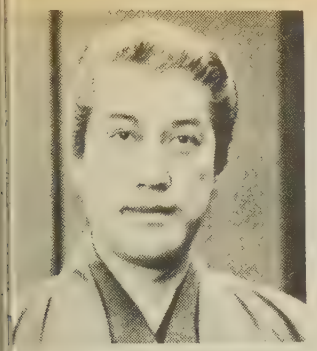
"For some thirty years my grandfather was elected Mayor of Athens and since my early years I repeatedly heard grown-ups talk about what they would like to do to make the city handsomer and its people happier," she told your correspondent. "I think having Athens as venue of the Olympic Games would help in that objective. After all, where if not in Greece, the birthplace of the Olympics, could we have the best Games ever? No wonder the idea has been backed by National Olympic Committees including that of the U.S.S.R."



Besides being a politician, Melina Mercouri is also a highly gifted actress, and while today she might be playing the lead role in a Brecht play staged by her husband, the well-known director Jules Dassin, tomorrow she could be involved in parliamentary debates, fervently putting forward her view on cultural and social matters. In 1979 she was awarded the Gold Peace Medal in Budapest, in 1980 she took part in the Wor Parliament of the Peopl for Peace in Sofia, ar subsequently, as member of an intern tional group of peace su porters, she went to Ne York to forward t forum's resolution to t U.N. Back home, she sta red in Tennessee William "Sweet Bird of Youth." R cently she won acclaim the classical trage "Medea."

Late last month Meli Mercouri attend another world-famo show as a guest, wh Greek actress Katheri Didaskalou traditionally the Olympic torch from t rays of the sun on Mou Olympus.

Sergei Svir
our own corresponde
ATHENS-BUCHARE



Sen Soshitsu, 65, one of Japan's most respected citizens, who holds the coveted title of Grand Master of the Urasenke School of Tea, is a 15th generation descendant of the family of one of the founding fathers of the art of tea drinking.

"My father, also a Grand Master, began to instruct me in the niceties of the art when I was only six years, six months and six days old," he said at the grand tea-drinking ceremony that the Urasenke foundation arranged in Moscow. "I was still far from perfect when I assumed the toga on his death, for which reason I had to work hard day after day to master all the mysteries of this ancient custom. Currently in charge of a large organization, I have to be a model for my pupils and followers, who number more than five million in Japan alone."

Though tea is extremely popular throughout the world, the beverage nowhere affects cultural life as it does in Japan, where the brewing of tea and its drinking have acquired a special aesthetic significance.

"Today when the achievements of modern science and technologfy are easing man's workload, the leisurely labour-intensive tea-brewing ritual appears outdated. However, we are doing all we can to attract the younger generation to our national culture. In many families children are taught the ceremony as soon as they are a year old," Sen Soshitsu says. In Kyoto, centre of the tea-drinking ceremony from time immemorial, he has established a school for foreigners who come specially to learn the art. Meanwhile the Grand Master himself globe-trot extensively, lecturing to implement his slogan "Peace Over a Cup of Tea."

* * *

Dmitry Shagin and his friends, Leningrad artists forming a group with the unusual name of the Mitki, will be exhibiting their latest work in their home city next month.

What attracts admirers to their unconventional painting? Evidently the richness of their palette, combined with the extremely simple composition, frequently annotated with elaborate captions plus explanatory notes on the canvas itself.

The name Mitki derives from an affectionate diminutive for Dmitry. The Mitki artists hold that their creative efforts should on no account serve as a means of enrichment. They say of their canvases, drawings and appliqué work, which represent city scapes of Leningrad, portraits of friends, genre scenes and far-fetched episodes "from the life of the Mitki," that "painting is a form of life in colour," "our pictures choose their own viewers," "we live and show how we live" and "this is our immediate contact with life."

"Though nearly all our efforts reveal human drama," Shagin says, "evidently due to the apparent frivolity, not everyone realizes that. I think one should inject some humour even into what is tragic."

Mitki Vladimir Shinkaryov is currently busy creating what he terms "stories from the life of the Mitki." His hand-composed booklets "Maxim and Fyodor," "The Mitki," and the "A Papua from Honduras" are part of the legend.

The Mitki do not confine their activities to painting. Lenfilm Studios are currently shooting a feature entitled "The City" for which the scenario was written by Vladimir Shinkaryov and his Mitki colleague Victor Tikhomirov and in which Dmitry Shagin will himself star as one of the central characters.

* * *

THE SYSTEM DOES IT

In the International Kamensky Brothers Memorial Contest last June, 19-year-old Muscovite Galina Chistyakova won the long jump with a superlative 7.52 metres, crowning a 14-year-long effort to exceed the 7.5 metre ceiling as the world's first girl athlete to do so.

In her younger years, her school PT instructor, from whom Ismail-born Galina learned the rudiments of basketball, put her up for a sports school in the track and field. After several years of pentathlon training, she finally plumped for the long jump.

After a series of wins at national youth contests and school-children's Spartiad Games she achieved world standing. In 1984, after an interval when she married and gave birth to a daughter, now five years old, she twice broke national records and was placed third in the International Druzhba Contest, while in 1985 she won the European World Championship title in Athens and took the European Cup trophy in Moscow.

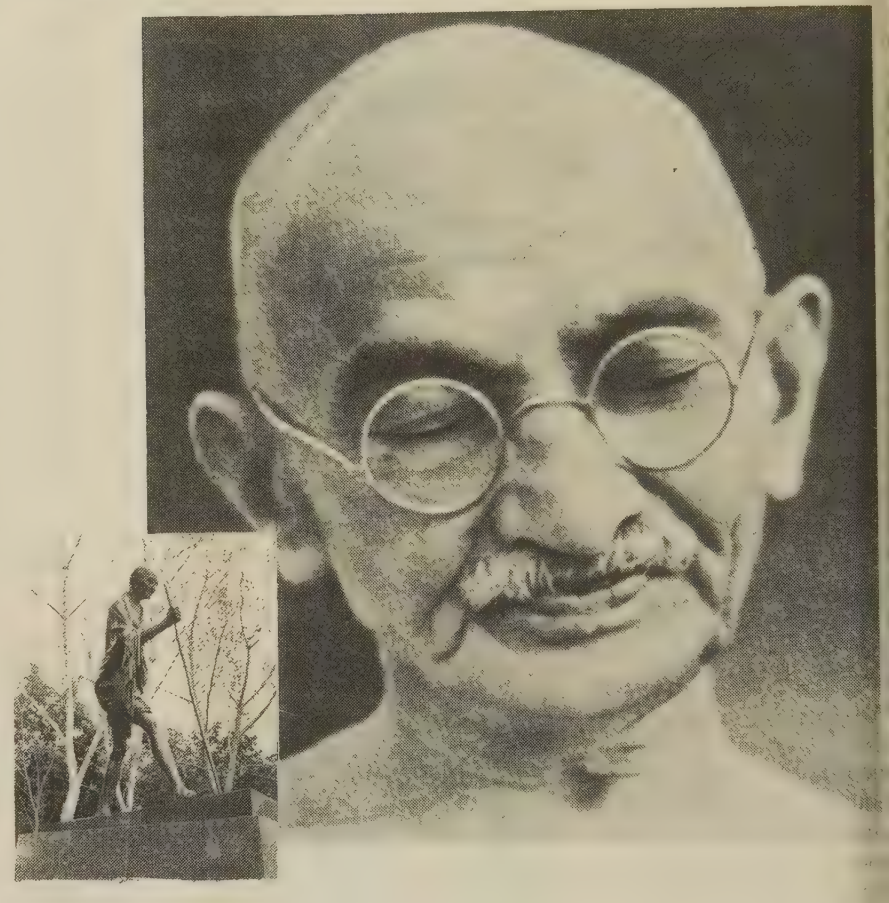
Still, feeling she could do better, she applied to the All-Union Institute of Physical Culture Research, which advised her to go in for a fundamentally new training system. As a result, in 1985 she broke the world indoor record and in 1986 the national record; in the same year she also captured the silver at the European championship. Finally, this year she achieved a superlative, 7.52 metres in the long jump.

Galina herself believes she has done nothing sensational. She now plans to jump 7.7 metres, but only after the Olympic Games in Seoul.

Arnold Kun

Offering a hand to failing spirits

Reflections on the monument to Mahatma Gandhi in Moscow



Moscow has acquired another resident. He was not born here. He comes from afar. He has come to join those who have long heeded his distant voice. His ideas and deeds echoed in their souls and his cherished wishes and love of the human race were shared by them. His spiritual journey to Russia began eighty years ago.

It was not in India, a nation that now reveres him as its founding father, that he began his journey. Inspired by the ideas and writings of Leo Tolstoy, the young Indian lawyer Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi founded a farming community, Ashram, near Johannesburg, South Africa. He called it the Tolstoy Farm. It is now part of India's history telling of its liberation from colonialism. The prophetic heart of the great Russian author responded to the letters Gandhi wrote him. In his diary in 1910 Leo Tolstoy praised Gandhi's book, "Indian Home Rule." "In the evening I read Gandhi's ideas on civilization, a very good piece of writing. Progress is slow along the steps of the generations... The lords and the wealthy, on the whole unashamed of their wealth, must now become extinct, along with revolutionaries driven by the vanity of their calling, and not by their awareness of the rift between life and consciousness. The education of children, the generations to come, is all important."

Leo Tolstoy made another entry in his diary on April 20, 1910, under the influence of Gandhi's letters and book: "Just like a tiny seed from which a huge tree grows, the effort of the mind is not readily apparent. Yet visible change in the life of the people grows out of it." The efforts of the mind of Gandhi, gratefully remembered by his people as "Mahatma," the Great Soul, are tangible in the life of the whole of today's world. The efforts of his mind produced visible changes in India, and could transform today's world if we all are resolved to aspire to a non-violent and nuclear-free future.

Moscow has acquired another resident. He was not born here. He comes from afar. It seems to me that from here he will journey all over the country, a slight, instantly recognizable figure, his hair closely cropped, sandals on his feet, his frail body clad in a homespun dhoti, and a thin bamboo staff in his hand. He will journey as did the wisemen of old bringing the truth wherever he goes.

The Indian sculptor Gautam Pal, who had the honour and privilege of installing Gandhi's bronze image here in Moscow, recalled what Albert Einstein said of Gandhi: "It may very well be that generations to come will find it hard to believe that such a man of ordinary flesh and blood walked on this earth." The bronze Gandhi now stands at the intersection of Lomonosov and Michurin Prospects, and we believe that this extraordinary man walked on this earth in the flesh. Gandhiji, as he was respectfully referred to by Jawaharlal Nehru in his Autobiography, was open to ordinary men like himself as he aspired to learn the mystery of their present and their future through the experience of his own righteous life. He was committed to good, and persistent in aspiring to the universal truth. He ascended the cross preordained to him by his spiritual destiny with faith in the power of good, an all-embracing love of Human Being whatever his religion, and a pro-

und awareness of Truth as the ultimate oal of human life.

When his final moment came on anuary 30, 1948, his last words were Oh, God!" as he fell, struck down by a ullet fired by a Hindu fanatic from a rowd of pilgrims who had come to see m and seek his spiritual instruction. He as assassinated during a moment of rayer as he prayed for the brotherhood f Hindus and Muslims. His assassin was inded by a different faith. The lament Oh, God!", heart-rending and forgiving, now hewn in stone on the spot where s funeral pyre burned. On my first visit India last year I walked to that place in elhi. You can only see the square olished stone, with its constantly burng light and steps strewn with rose petls where people kneel, if you come very ose to the memorial lawn covered with reen grass. What thought flashed rough his mind in the final moment as at 78-year-old man, who had become ne of the spiritual leaders of the human ce, fell dead? There is no way of knowg, but his final words of farewell and a etime of suffering were a sign of his areness of the eternal problems betting the people of India and the world large. Non-violent coexistence on this rth had been Gandhi's dream.

The forty years that have passed since at fateful moment seem to have ought humanity nearer to enlightenent. Moscow's monument to Gandhi is sign of our affinity in time. Addressing e inaugural ceremony in Indira Gandhi quare, the Indian President Ramaswami enkataraman reminded the Muscovites nd Indians who had gathered there that e Mahatma, professing love among en, is to this day the luminary who nows the sinful human race the right ath to embark upon.

At a film studio in Bombay they kindly nowed me archive footage of the last ays of Mahatma Gandhi. Most of the equences I saw showed him striding rth, as he is doing now, in Moscow or in dia, in stone or in bronze. Slightly built, ny even, with homespun rags and tatrs wrapped around his fragile body, he res on in stone and bronze among the ew generations remaining, as ever, digfied and concentrated and holding his ead high. He thought decades ahead, nd it was his thoughts that made him reat and that gave his followers inspiraon and hope.

Gandhi did not aspire to lead people to merely political ends in the course of the struggle for independence. He led them on to a spiritual ideal, seeing the future in the real and tangible world around him. Nikolai Gogol, whose worldview was very close to Gandhi's, said at the end of his "Author's Confession": "No feat is loftier than that of offering a hand to one whose spirit is failing." Mahatma Gandhi offered a helping hand to his people as their spirit failed. He led their struggle against colonialism and proposed forms of that struggle which, having proved exceptionally effective at a certain stage in history, have now acquired a new viability and relevance.

The fate of Gandhi has come to be reflected in the fates of many other heroes who have fallen victim to political, religious or ideological fanaticism over the 40 years since his death.

The fate of the outstanding leader of India, the late Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, who fell at the hands of an assassin in 1984, continued the symbolic line of Mahatma Gandhi's heroic life. In Bangalore, Sviatoslav Roerich spoke of her death with grief as he showed me reproductions of a portrait of her, which he had done for the National Parliament in Delhi. Sviatoslav Roerich was a close friend of Jawaharlal Nehru and Indira Gandhi. He met with Mahatma Gandhi.

The monuments to Indira Gandhi and Mahatma Gandhi now stand in the same square in Moscow. They remind us of other men and women who paid with their lives for their moral and ethical commitments, and bring to mind the words of the remarkable Russian scholar and educator, Pavel Florensky: "The world is so ordered that to give to it is only possible on pain of suffering and persecution." He wrote this in Solovki labour camp sometime between 1933 and 1937. At about the same time, in 1931, during a visit to Geneva, Mahatma Gandhi came to see Romain Rolland and asked him to play Beethoven's Fifth Symphony for him.

What was associated in Gandhi's mind with the symphony? Why did he ask him to play this symphony of all others? Music has many meanings. The Fifth Symphony opens with the theme of fate. As the composer said of it, "...fate is knocking at the door"... Could it be that the spiritual affinity to Beethoven strengthened Gandhi's own spirit? Who knows. The spiritual teachers of the human race wherever and whenever they may have lived offer us all their helping hands through space and time, reminding us of the true worth of human life and the truth that is on its way to us. The truth is beyond us becuase it is bigger than we are, but it is within us because it is through us alone that it can reveal itself. The truth is written in our many faces, our actions, living ideas, our love and our creativity.

Leo Tolstoy believed in one soul common to all. In one of his last letters to Gandhi in Transvaal, dated September 7, 1910, he said that love is the aspiration to the communion of human souls. Action appropriate to that idea is, according to Leo Tolstoy, "the supreme and only law of human life." Today's international cooperation of the people of the Earth, nations, states, political systems and religious and intellectual worldviews, strives to attain the primordial truth of the Love of humanity for their common Home in Europe, Asia and indeed throughout the world. The Home of our future.

Our notions of world culture, world affairs and the destinies of the world daily assume new features, but inevitably and increasingly we measure them against moral obligations and our own conscience.

The all-pervading feeling of guilt and responsibility for today's state of affairs in the world is paving the way towards a new awareness of the universal, the sole guarantee of the inviolability of the personal and individual in the world today.

The truth of the world community of the human race urges us to renew our commitment to it daily to uphold life on earth. The life of the human spirit, of which Gandhi was so aware, requirs a new sincerity. It needs the cool water from the spring of new thinking to quench the thirst of the human race as it gropes towards the meaning of life.

...In times of need we can come to the Mahatma Gandhi memorial.

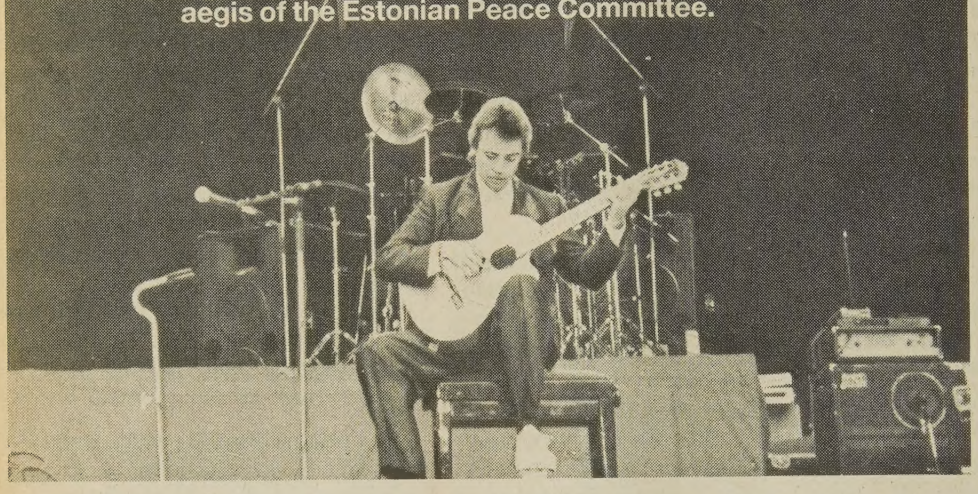
Andrei Zolotov

art critic,
political observer
of Novosti Press
Agency

■

Tallinn's Song Field hosts a rock festival

The international rock festival "Summer-88" held late this August in Tallinn was immediately dubbed "the Soviet Woodstock." 26 rock groups representing 6 countries took part in the festival sponsored by the local light music club Muusik and Radio One, Finland's largest independent broadcasting station, under the aegis of the Estonian Peace Committee.



Steve Hackett

The festival attracted one of the world's best guitar players Steve Hackett, formerly a member of Genesis, Sex Pistols leader John Lydon, widely known among music buffs as Rotten, the group Public Image Ltd., leading Estonian groups, and rock musicians from Sweden, Finland, Czechoslovakia and Argentina.

Several years ago a festival of the kind would have been unthinkable in this country, but times change. Now that direct contacts are encouraged, there was no need to have the festival authorized by central bodies, or more particularly, Goskontsert.

Says Erki Berends of the organizing committee: "The idea of such a festival was not born yesterday. Our Song Field is an excellent venue for concerts of this kind. We also have some experience: music festivals in Tartu have been going for a decade, and have given us excellent opportunities to learn to attract participants, and deal with the press... On the other hand, our partners from Finland have state-of-the-art equipment and a great deal of organizing experience. The talks between the Muusik Club and a Radio One executive producer were attended by a team of American experts, who, having visited the Song Field, said it was suitable for an even "bigger show."

The "bigger show" turned out to be a real milestone in the history of Soviet rock music: Song Field accommodated nearly 140 thousand spectators, that is twice its seating capacity.

The parallel with Woodstock, the first-ever international rock festival, was suggested not only by the magnitude of the Tallinn event, but also by the weather. It rained heavily on the opening day, as had been the case in Woodstock, but rock fans didn't seem to mind.

"Unfortunately the festival was hardly advertized at all outside Estonia," laments Artem Troitsky, the country's leading rock critic, author of the international bestseller "Back in the U.S.S.R.: History of Rock in the Soviet Union." It is a pity the festival got so little publicity though it was the most representative, popular and serious rock event in the Soviet Union to date. Rock lovers in Moscow, Leningrad and other cities knew next to nothing about it.

Actually there were only two journalists from Moscow at the festival, and incidentally they went there on their own initiative, having learned about it from friends.

"For a number of reasons the Estonians were not after nation-wide publicity," says Troitsky, "a number of similar concerts planned in Moscow had been either cancelled from above (as with the Rock Against Dope programme) or held not as previously planned (the festival in the Moscow Green Theatre).

"Goskontsert does not stop short of downright offending spectators," says Gunnar Graps, a leading Soviet rock musician. "How do they do it? We cable a request to arrange a tour for this or that group, and they sent us an altogether different one. I can't understand this and make every effort not to deal with them."

However, a big Soviet-American rock concert did take place in Moscow last summer featuring Carlos Santana, the Autograf, Laima Vaikule, James Taylor, The Doobie Brothers and others. The problem is that the concert was not for everyone. The mammoth Lokomotiv stadium was cordoned into five rows much to the amusement of the spectators – 200 participants in the Soviet-American Walk for Peace and roughly the same number of people from various public organizations. Remembering such incidents forces one to agree with the bitter words of Gunnar Graps when he says that Tallinn and perhaps Vilnius are the only places in the country where such festivals can be arranged, thanks to the relative independence of the local concert authorities.

Difficulties notwithstanding the festival was held, proved a success, and got a lot of publicity... in the West. The MTV video crew from the U.S. shot a film – "Glasnost – Rock-88" which is about to enter the internatioanl cinema market and for Radio One, the copyright holders, the 500,000 dollars they invested is bound to pay off.

"With our authorization or nothing is the simple psychology of bureaucrats in music" – a member of the Organizing Committee sadly summarized the existing situation. Things did take a more favourable turn after Summer-88.

Erkin Tuzmukhamedov
TALLINN–MOSCOW
Photo by author

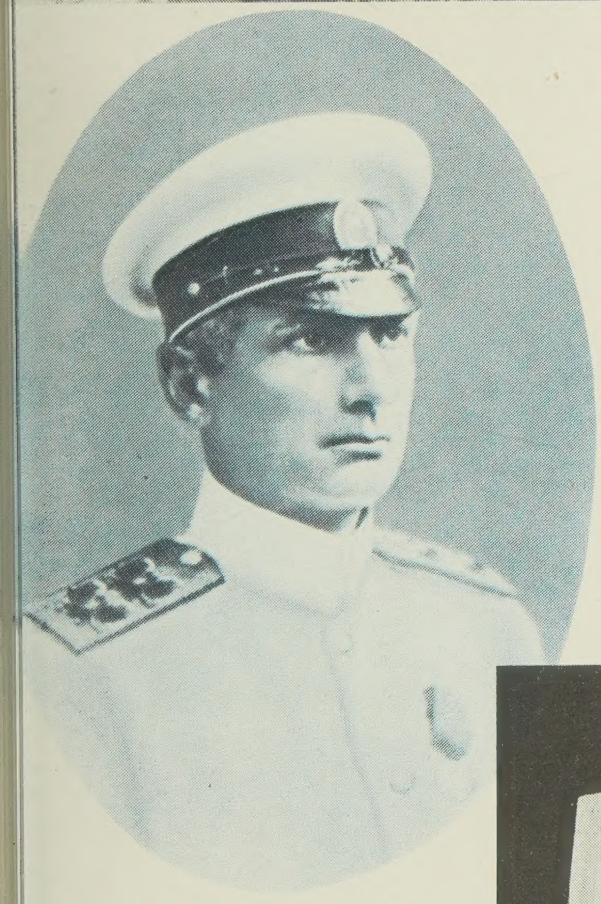
wishes one could reach out and leaf through it. Next, there is the passport issued to Yemelyan Pugachev, the leader of the huge peasant uprising in the 18th century. Photographic portraits of the leaders of the White Guards movement are presented against the background of documentary snapshots showing scenes of the outrages they committed. Other exhibits include the service record of August Kork, a Red Army commander; documents and personal belongings of Vavilov and Chayanov, Bukharin and Rykov; the full text of Stalin's order No. 227 which cannot but rivet attention.

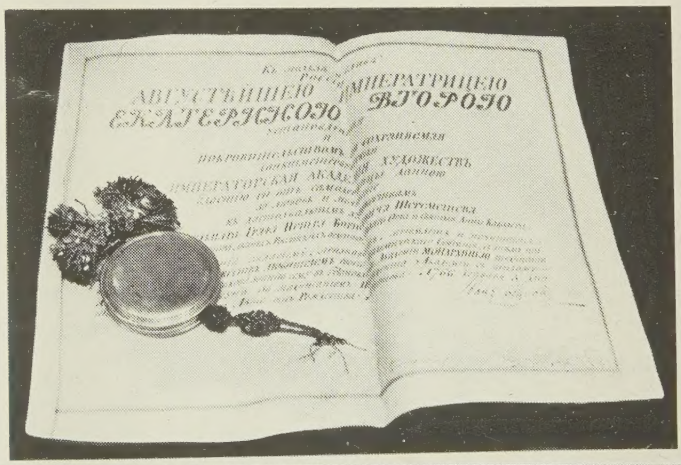
Most of the documents on display have been declassified only recently, after decades of being kept away from the public eye. Let us now wait for them to go into mass circulation, into our domestic libraries.

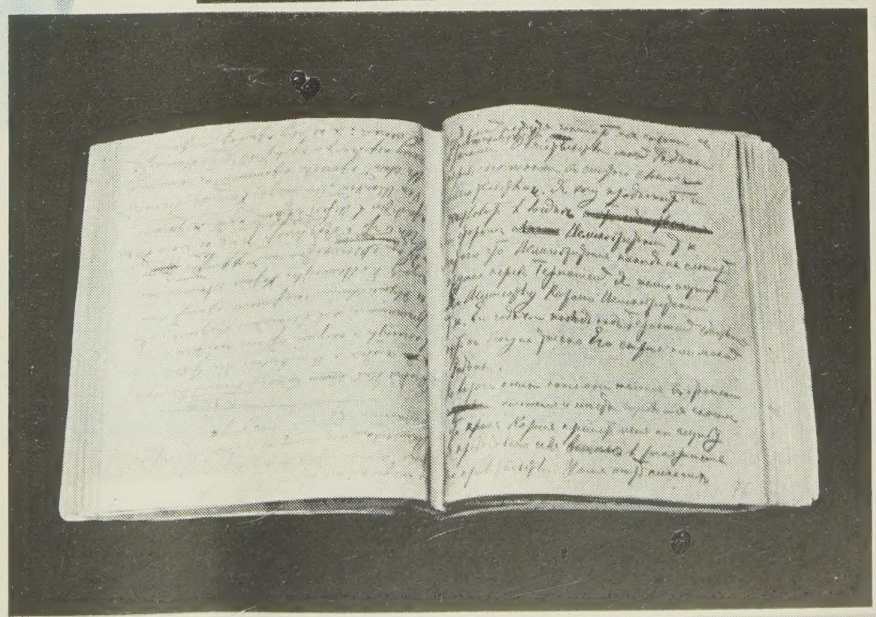
A. Svetozarov

THE PAST

"The past unrolls before me..." *(Pushkin)*







Each time-yellowed document and ture in this display of relics of the st has an exciting story to tell. Visitors to the exhibition, now open the U.S.S.R. Exhibition of nomic Achievements, hear the ce of History itself. It is cool and passionate, yet it cannot but use profound emotions within us. An ancient manuscript lies en- sed in a glass case, and one

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